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Explorations of Life in Several Languages

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Doctor of Philosophy

Psychology

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a qualitative research study exploring questions of how individuals construct living life in several languages, and of relational issues that arise. It pays attention to subjectivity and its interconnection with language.

The study brings together perspectives from linguistics, translation literature, cultural theory, discursive psychology and systemic psychotherapy to consider issues of bilingualism / multilingualism at individual, family and societal levels, and to challenge the ongoing negativity associated with it. Five autobiographies and twenty-four research interviews with individuals who live in several languages form the research data. These insider accounts are treated as both referential and performative, and analysed using a synthesised grounded analysis and discursive analytic approach.

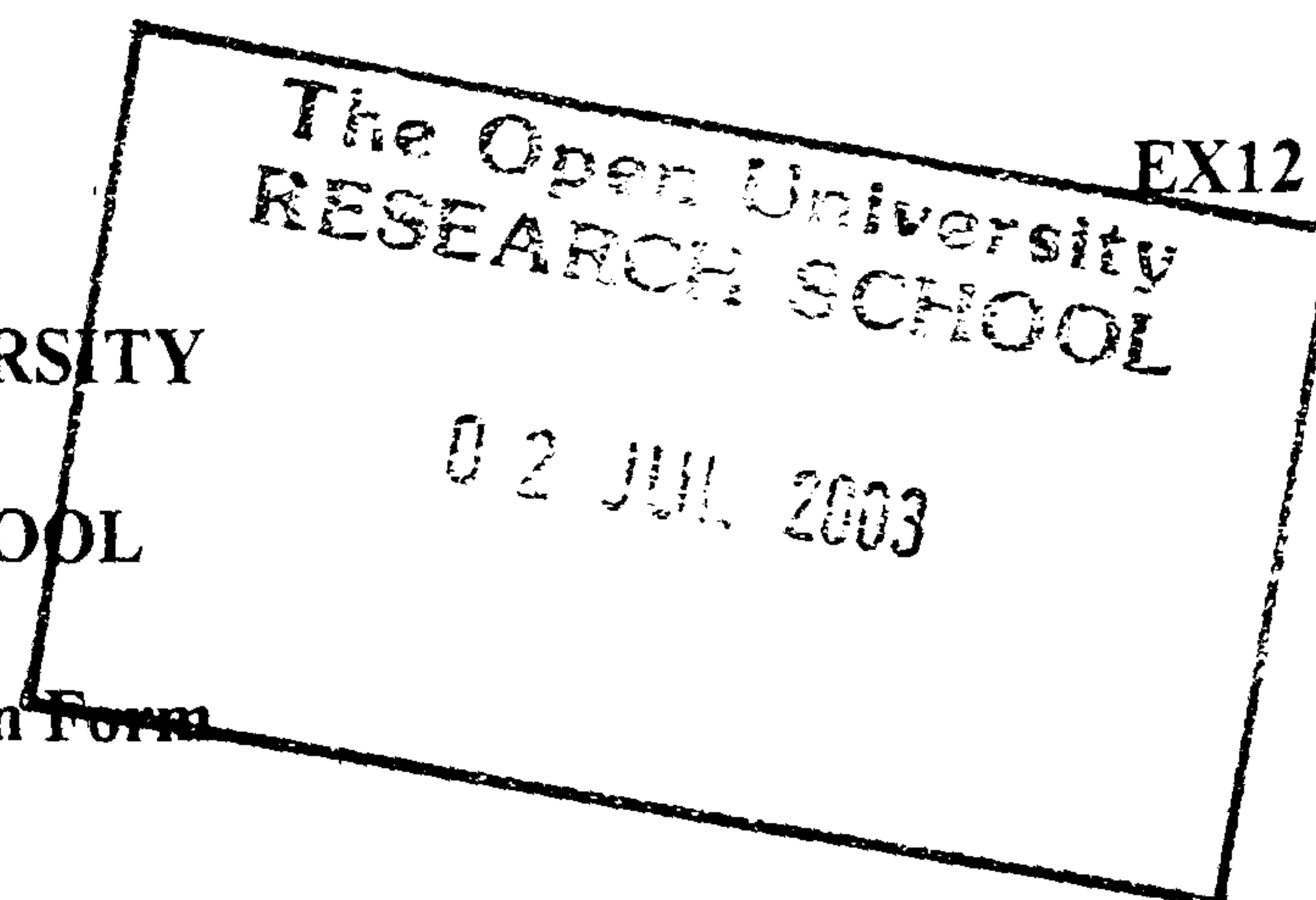
It was found that individuals experience themselves differently in each language and construct their languages differently. The study identifies the discursive work individuals carry out in relation to these dissimilarities, such as the way they draw on a construct of a doubled identity, and conceptualise entry into a new language as performance. Individuals use their languages to make salient their own and others' identities. In Britain, speaking a minoritised language acts as a marker of difference and intersects with racialisation, helping to construct ethnicity and cultural identity. Although challenging, individuals develop strategies of hybridisation in enabling contexts, using the interaction between their different languages to create new perspectives, and see their multiplicity as advantage.

Issues for families speaking several languages are discussed. Parents found first languages lent intimacy to parenting relationships; second languages conferred distance which helped avoid unhelpful interactions. The concept of 'mother tongue' is constitutive, perceived as language for mothers, and contributes to fathers using their first languages less.

The thesis argues how crucial it is for psychotherapists to explore the differential effects of language on subjectivity and relationships, neglected to date, and for the importance of supporting bi/multilingualism.

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What does it mean to live in several languages?

I moved when I was four from Holland with my family to live in a bilingual French / English community in the province of Quebec. I took it for granted that there was a different language for each context – my parents spoke Dutch at home, we spoke English at school and with friends, and Quebecois French was spoken everywhere else.

It wasn't until I read Eva Hoffman's Lost in Translation, several years ago, an account of her move at age 13 from Poland to Canada, from one language to another, that I began to reflect, explicitly for the first time, on my experience of my languages. I live my life mainly in English. I swan about in it with great ease, this language which is insinuating its way into the entire world's discourses. However many of my family relationships are conducted in Dutch. And I always swore in Quebecois, because it is gutsy, outrageous, and irreverent in ways which I thought English and Dutch just could not be.

Whenever I travel back to Holland and hear Dutch everywhere, it engenders an uncanny sense of familiarity, even intimacy. I feel a warmth towards everybody I encounter. I experience a connectedness, but at the same time, I have a sense this is misplaced.

A few years ago I gave a presentation at a family therapy conference in Holland. As this was the first time I had had the opportunity to work in the country of my birth and of my first language, I had decided that I would make my introduction in Dutch. When I began to speak in Dutch, I suddenly became overwhelmed by a powerful physical sensation, and could hardly go on. The chair of the session looked over at me anxiously, uncertain how to respond. Switching back to English, I 'recovered myself' and I continued the presentation without a problem.

The rationale for the research which forms the basis of this thesis is personal as well as intellectual and professional - a curiosity about my own experiences, as well as about the literature, and about the individuals and families I have encountered as a systemic psychotherapist.

Qualitative research has legitimised the exploration of questions personal to the researcher. This added personal investment in the research question creates extra demands on the researcher to maintain self-reflexivity – the challenge to question one's own position within the research process.

INTRODUCTION

Why should it be important to research issues of living in several languages? I aim to demonstrate that this study is long overdue. I also argue that it is timely for the systemic psychotherapy field to redress its neglect of those who live in several languages. More generally I propose that it is highly relevant to be carrying out empirical research of multiple subjectivity and that individuals who live in several languages are particularly suited for such a research project.

Over half the world's population are thought to be bilingual or multilingual (Grosjean 1982), but it is difficult to keep hold of this fact in the perusal of some of the British and North American linguistics literature in which negative connotations about bilingualism have prevailed until recently.

Bilingualism can lead to a split personality and at worst to schizophrenia (Adler 1977 p40)

Bilingualism confuses children. Speaking two languages to children results in their becoming semi-lingual, not knowing either language well (reported in Romaine 1989).

This thesis was written to deconstruct such negativity associated with bilingualism. It has been important to draw on literature from a broad range of disciplines to be able to address the issues of speaking more than one language at different levels. The literature review has aimed to make a contribution in its own right, by bringing together diverse literatures from psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and neurolinguistics, as well as cultural theory,

translation literature, discursive psychology and systemic psychotherapy. This review sets the context within which I locate my own project.

I begin in Chapter 1, *Speaking More Than One Language – Research into Bilingualism*, by examining literature from the linguistics field and its many branches concerning those who speak several languages, and in particular note their focus and their absences. I review research about children and adults acquiring more than one language, and examine what has been written about the effects of speaking several languages, including research in neurolinguistics. I pay particular attention to the way language speaking has been researched, much of which has focused on individual competence, and review current research with an interactional focus, and studies which have included speakers' perspectives. I argue for the importance of pursuing the implications of the findings that individuals experience significant differences in their different languages, and why my own study focuses on the experiences and views of speakers themselves.

Because this study explores individuals' experiences of themselves in their languages, it is concerned with questions of subjectivity. In Chapter 2, *Subjectivity, Identity and Social Struggles*, I draw on literature concerning the conceptualisation of subjectivity, the self and identity, and examine theories of narrative construction and of discursive practices. I briefly touch on the very complex relationships between language, thought and experience. Having drawn attention to the neglect of the influence of contextual factors on the whole in linguistic research, I draw on literature from critical linguistics and cultural theorists concerning this question and issues of power. Language speaking is given meaning in and through social and political struggles. I look at literature concerning social struggles, language and identity, and pertaining to racialised, ethnicised, and cultural identities and how these intersect with language speaking. I review the literature on biculturalism and transculturalism to consider their overlap with living in several languages and the ways

these have been theorised. As translators are individuals positioned in several languages who work between languages, I examine literature on translation, and the effect of power relationships between languages. Gender difference has mainly been neglected in research and other work on 'bilingualism', a striking absence, given the literature on gender and language use more generally, which I review in relation to its implications for those who live in several languages. The writings in this chapter raise questions concerning the suture between subjectivity and language, the ways subjectivity and culture are interlinked (Hall 1996), and I indicate how this has informed my research.

In Britain, languages other than English are, on the whole, not valued and there is considerable pressure to assimilate to speaking English.

To widespread astonishment, the government has announced proposals to make foreign languages an optional subject for pupils in England after the age of 14. At the same time, the rest of Europe is ramping up requirements for its citizens to learn more languages in schools.[. . .]DTI studies suggest that UK companies may be losing as much as 20% of their business because they lack language skills. (Kelly 2002)

People wanting to become UK citizens will have to take compulsory English language tests and an exam on the ways of British life, the home secretary, David Blunkett, announced today. (Tempest 2002)

This context poses enormous challenges to individuals and families who want to continue speaking minoritised languages, and to live their lives in several languages. Pinker (1994) has argued passionately that we are in danger of losing 90% of the estimated 3,600 - 5,400 languages in the world in this century. There is growing evidence that loss of language

involves loss of biodiversity, because of invaluable environmental knowledge embedded in language (Maffi 2000), as well as loss of cultural knowledge. This has fuelled efforts to study processes of sustaining language speaking and disrupting language loss. Languages evolve and develop their meanings in diverse contexts. Boro, an endangered language, spoken in North-eastern India, Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh, and its potential loss, has recently been taken up as part of the struggle for separatism and against cultural and territorial loss. And if individuals lose Boro, what will they lose? Boro is a language full of verbs emphasising process and transformation (Abley 2002).

bunhan bunahan	= to be about to speak and about not to speak
onsay	= to pretend to love
onsra	= to love for the last time
mokhrob	= to express anger by a sidelong glance

In the context of another language it becomes more possible to note how each language encodes different concepts and ways to view the world, concepts which are often difficult, if not at times impossible, to translate into another language.

This study is driven by its relationship to family therapy / systemic psychotherapy. It was my growing preoccupation as a systemic psychotherapist with issues of living in several languages which led to the conception of this research project. Systemic psychotherapy is a form of therapy which developed through conjoint work with family members in which the relationships and meanings constructed between family members are the predominant focus, as are the influences of the wider context on personal relationships, rather than the intrapsychic focus of psychoanalytically based therapies. Given this theoretical framework, and its preoccupation with language and narrative over the last decade and a half, it is quite surprising that the systemic psychotherapy field has mainly left cultural and linguistic

contexts unexplored. Except for a few rare articles, it has almost completely neglected bilingualism, and to date, language issues have mainly been addressed in relation to working with interpreters and migration. This neglect has been connected to the relative slowness in the field to address issues of racialisation and racisms, and cultural diversity, although writers have started to redress this gap. I have therefore been concerned to generate ideas for family therapy.

Language speaking also acquires meanings within family relationships, which is the context in which language is first learned.

Not to speak your own mother tongue. To live with sounds, logics, that are separated from the nocturnal memory of the body, from the sweet-sour sleep of childhood. (Kristeva 1988 p20)

This concept of ‘mother tongue’ is widely used in the literature, and in this work I critically examine its construction and its effects.

In Chapter 3, Language and Family Therapy I review the relevant systemic literature. As experiences of speaking several languages in Britain are often connected with a history of migration, I review pertinent systemic literature on migration. I examine the few articles from the psychoanalytic field as well as the systemic field on the use of first and subsequent languages in therapy. I also consider issues for therapists who themselves speak several languages. I indicate absences in the literature and highlight aspects I think are important to explore in my own study.

I end by concluding that the academic research to date has not provided an adequate picture of relevant aspects of living life in several languages, in relation to identity

construction and in the context of social struggles. The few studies which included speakers' own experiences seemed most pertinent to address these questions.

Chapter 4, Methodological Considerations presents the formulation of my research questions and outlines the methodology for exploring these. I argue that much can be gained from insider accounts of living in several languages and that it is fruitful to analyse the narratives which individuals construct when their languages are placed as the highest context, the frame through which they can reflect on themselves and their experiences. I propose that this allows an examination of the kinds of differences which exist between the languages in which individuals live and the ways in which these construct experiences differently. I have chosen to examine autobiographical writings and to conduct interviews with individuals who have come to live in several languages in different circumstances, in order to analyse the constructions of speakers themselves. A synthetic approach to the analysis is taken, using a grounded analysis and discursive analytic concepts, informed by narrative ideas, which consider language as constitutive and performative.

The ways in which I have attempted to maintain self reflexivity as a researcher throughout the research process have been informed by the ways this has been thought about within systemic psychotherapy and these are discussed in Chapter 5. I have experienced aspects of the research process as isomorphic with the topic. As a systemic psychotherapist, supervised by academic psychologists from critical and discursive psychology, I have drawn on and attempted to bring together a number of different theoretical frameworks. This has posed challenges similar to those which research participants faced in using their different language perspectives, wrestling with tensions of multiplicity, fragmentation and a demand for coherence. Individuals have managed these in different ways.

I began to think and write contrapuntally, using the disparate halves of my experience, as an Arab and an American, to work with and against each other (Said 1998).

Four empirical chapters pick up and elaborate the central themes and constructions in the individual accounts: Chapter 6 focuses on the Autobiographical Texts, Chapter 7 examines Constructions of Living in Several Languages in a range of different circumstances, and Chapter 8 discusses Constructions of Self, Language, Power and Hybridity. Language Use and Family Relationships are considered in Chapter 9.

In Chapter 10, the Concluding Discussion, I pull together and discuss theoretical ideas generated from this study, in relation to individuals' constructions of self and language, and to language and identity in context. I elaborate on the discursive work individuals carry out. I consider hybridisation and ways individuals claim identities. I consider the notion of contexts that support multiplicities.

The analysis has significant implications for the psychotherapy field. I argue how crucial it is for therapists to explore issues of language and how they might use this in therapy. I affirm the importance of supporting the speaking of languages in Britain. I end by identifying further questions about living in several languages that are important to pursue.

Chapter 1 - SPEAKING MORE THAN ONE LANGUAGE – RESEARCH INTO

BILINGUALISM

As noted in the Introduction, this first chapter aims to review the literature on 'bilingualism' as the first stage of a larger project of reviewing relevant literature in the fields of linguistics, identity studies, cultural and critical theory, translation studies, gender studies and family therapy. In this chapter I begin by examining the term 'bilingualism' and review the literature from the many branches of the linguistics fields. I note the negativity that had traditionally been associated with 'bilingualism'. I highlight interesting findings of the effects of speaking several languages, particularly those demonstrating the effect on children's thinking and the differences found in individuals' different languages. I trace changes in the ways linguistics research has been carried out, which had been focused on individual competence, and examine work which has considered 'bilingualism' as an interactional resource, and why it might be pertinent to consider this further. I consider the effects of the attrition of language. I note the more recent tradition in sociolinguistics of research which includes the views of speakers, and demonstrate why my study and its focus takes this form and is overdue.

'Bilingualism' is a term used in the linguistics field for the speaking of two languages, and its definition is hotly debated in relation to fluency criteria. Li Wei (2000) reported 37 different categories of bilinguals. These definitional controversies are not particularly pertinent to this research because of their focus on language competency, although the more general issues raised in and by the bilingualism literature around language use and language learning are relevant. My study concerns individuals who live in two or more languages, and by this I mean, individuals who have used or are currently using these languages in their everyday lives. I have chosen not to use the term 'bilingualism' other than in referring to the literature.

Many of the studies of 'bilingualism' up to the 1950s and 60s have been criticised for their negative focus and their use of a deficit model. Romaine (1989) argued that modern linguistic theory, which originated in western Europe and Anglophone countries, had contributed to pathologising 'bilingualism' because it has been based on monolingualism as the normative standard. Given that over half the world's population are thought to be 'bilingual' (Grosjean 1982), this negativity is striking. Amati-Mehler et al (1993) suggested that there must be important psychological and sociological reasons to deny polylingualism and for the perpetuation of the Tower of Babel myth, the sense of a golden age when there was only one language and 'perfect' communication. If one considers colonial contexts and political ideology, dominant group members, whose language became dominant, rarely needed to learn languages of other groups, so that 'bilingualism' may have become associated with inequality and social disadvantage (Burton 1994), or more blatantly, dominant groups attempted to eradicate other languages and their speakers (Romaine 1995). The pathologisation of 'bilingualism', despite the challenges to this negativity by sociolinguists, continues to have its effects today on language use, alongside assimilationist policies in many countries. Many multilingual speakers adopt monolingual values, viewing their own language use as deficient (Romaine 1995, Cromdal 2000). An idea still prevalent is that children who learn more than one language often do not learn any language well and should be considered 'semilinguals'. It has been my experience that professionals in Britain still give advice to parents to use only one language (i.e. English) with their children. This research study has, in part, been carried out critically, to examine this continued negativity.

Research into 'bilingualism' has been carried out in a variety of linguistic fields: psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and neurolinguistics, at times with little connection between them and with very different foci (Fishman 1967/2000). In this chapter I review

research about children and adult ‘bilingualism’ and the ways in which this has been studied. These research studies are located in a number of different paradigms, from neurological and positivist, to social constructionist, and generate a number of questions, particularly in relation to what has been left out.

Children’s language acquisition

Before considering the work on children learning several languages, it is useful to review some literature on language acquisition more generally. Chomsky (1976) proposed that infants’ brains are specifically structured to acquire language, that they have a specialised biological programme, a deep structural grammar and a neural mechanism to do so. Chomsky’s idea of a universal grammar has been variously challenged, and emphasis has currently been placed on the interactional development of language. Babies develop a relationship to language before they ‘enter into language’ themselves. Their intrauterine exposure to their mother’s speech predisposes them to show a preference for it at birth (DeCasper & Fifer 1980 in Kuhl 1998). Babies participate with their carers from birth in reflexive sequences of communication; they are inducted into and participate in proto-conversations with their caretakers, taking turns (Cross 1977, Trevarthen 1977), imitating sounds, paying attention to others’ speech movements (Kuhl 1998), and mutually influencing and being responsive to their carers (Stern 1985). I think it is helpful to follow Beebe & Lachman (2002) and Krause (2002) in considering language to include the full range of responsive human actions. As Halliday (1975) put it, learning to speak is learning how to mean. The process of language development as well as language use is diverse because contextually influenced (Burman 1994). Babies are invited into linguistic and cultural practices, they “enter the stream of verbal communication and through and in it reach awareness” (Vološinov 1986). By the time they can speak, language is already there

in the shape of words “filled up with other people’s meanings” (Vološinov 1986), and they become constituted as ‘native speakers’. We enter into language which speaks us.

Acquiring language is conflated with acquiring relationships, because language is inherently intersubjective (Akhtar & Tomasello 1998, Anderson & Goolishian 1988).

Learning language is learning to relate, and as Bateson et al (1956) highlighted, every communication is a statement about relationship as well as about content. Infant language learning in Western societies is still very much associated with mothers, despite attempts to alter and acknowledge other parenting arrangements. Psychoanalytic theory would suggest that this early relationship gives a particular significance to the first language (Tesone 1996 p879). This association is concretised through the term ‘mother tongue’ given to a first language, commonly used in both academic and fictional literature. My own concern is that this term is constitutive and ‘naturalises’ a relationship to language and warrants deconstruction. I have therefore found it important not to use the term ‘mother tongue’ myself, (I use ‘first language’), and try to note and question its usage in literature and research accounts, and examine its implications (see especially Chapter 9).

There is some controversy about how language develops for polylingual children.

McLaughlin (1978) has argued that the learning of several languages before the age three should be considered as being acquired simultaneously. Researchers, such as Grosjean (1982), have traced a developmental sequence in which young children first speak as if they have one language system containing words from both languages - the reason Swain (1972) proposed that acquiring 'bilingualism' in this way should be considered a first language. Children moved from using one language system to using two languages with only one grammar system, before using two grammar systems with each language being relationship-dependent. Later, languages become less relationship dependent and children translate from one to the other. This process is very much influenced by the dominance of

one language over the other, and whether languages are kept separate in different relationships and contexts. Genesee (1989/2000) on the other hand, refutes the proposal that very young children cannot differentiate between their languages, arguing that they use their languages differentially in contextually sensitive ways from a very early age, and that there are many reasons why they mix their languages, including that most parents, however committed to maintaining strict separation of languages for their children, mix their utterances without being aware of this (Goodz 1989 in Genesee 1989). Certainly very young infants have been found to discriminate between languages, showing a preference at birth for first language over foreign language utterances (Mehler et al 1998, Moon et al 1993 in Kuhl 1998), and infants of between 6 to 17 weeks were also able to differentiate between two foreign languages to which they had never been exposed previously (Trehub 1973 in Genesee 1989/2000). Geissler (1938) has argued that children could learn up to four languages without confusion (Romaine 1989).

Supporting children's language use

There is a body of work, which has focused on how children can be helped to speak more than one language. Ronjat (1913) introduced the 'one person - one language' recommendation, with each parent conducting their relationship with their child in one language, preferably their first (Arnberg 1987, Romaine 1989), and this pattern is still recommended and preferred by many parents (Yamamoto 1995). Most striking is the impact of the sociocultural context on children's language use - whether families have resources and support or are pressurised by assimilationist policies (Smolicz 1979, Romaine 1989). Not so long ago, children were physically punished in schools in Britain, Australia, USA and Scandinavia for speaking minoritised languages (Romaine 1995). In a context where parents have different first languages, there is usually a shift to the dominant language, although mothers have a better chance of passing their language on to children

than fathers do, most likely because in many cases they are still spending more time with their children (Lyon 1996). However this is also a reason to examine and deconstruct the concept of 'mother tongue' and its effect on such parenting decisions. Arnberg (1987) highlighted the importance of the dominant language-speaking parent's attitude and support to their child's maintenance of their languages. However, it has been found to be very difficult for children to acquire and sustain active command of a minority language if that language does not receive support outside the family and particularly if it is stigmatised. In these situations, it has been found that siblings move to speaking the dominant community language with each other at home (Arnberg 1987, Grosjean 1982, Romaine 1989). Parents are also organised by ideas that their children need to be fluent in the dominant language to be successful (Rindstedt 2000).

It has been found that teaching in a child's first language helps acquisition and learning in their second (Cummins 1984), and that there is a direct relationship between a child's competence in their first language and their competence in their second (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa 1976). These findings have influenced educational policies to provide bilingual education in the United States and Sweden, although not in Britain where it was seen as segregationist and counter to equal opportunities policies (Rampton 1995). However, there is considerable controversy around what kinds of educational programmes are most successful and their aims, whether of assimilation, transitional bilingualism, or sustaining bilingualism (Romaine 1995). Gendered differences and power inequities have also been found to be significant. Fisher (1974) found differential effects of a bilingual-bicultural program on self-concepts, self-descriptions and stimulus-seeking activities of children in their first year of school in the United States: highly positive effects for Mexican-American (first language Spanish) girls, no effects on Mexican-American (first language Spanish) boys and Anglo-American (first language English) girls, and negative effects on Anglo-American (first language English) boys, although there was little attempt

to link these findings to contextual influences and meanings. Language policies have not remained static, and the state of California recently decided (1998) to abolish their 'bilingual' language programmes in schools, instituted mainly for children from the Hispanic language communities, who constitute a substantial proportion of minoritised language speakers in California. Clearly a number of factors contributed to this abolition, including passionate views that teaching in a minority language leaves children less fluent in the dominant language (Rodriguez 1982), perceived threats that a minority language could displace the dominant one, and negativity attached to 'bilingualism'. Romaine (1995) has pointed out how easily bilingual programmes get blamed in complex contexts where many factors intersect.

These studies point to the challenges of maintaining children's use of minoritised languages. They highlight the importance of examining and unpacking language 'choice' for parenting but no questions seem to have been posed about the possible differential effects of parenting in first and subsequent languages.

Effects on children of speaking several languages

Research into the effects of bilingualism, as commented earlier, had until the last two decades been concentrated on deficit, with findings that learning several languages was detrimental to children's ability to learn any one language well, and was hazardous to mental health. Personifying such an approach, Adler (1977) for example stated that: "bilingualism can lead to a split personality and at worst to schizophrenia" (p40).

Challenging the focus on deficit and negativity of earlier research, more recent studies have found considerable benefits for children of speaking more than one language. However, social factors, and in particular, whether there is social support for speaking

more than one language, powerfully influence findings, and account for some of the contradictions found in research (Edwards 1994, Grosjean 1982, Romaine 1989, 1995, Smolicz 1979). Peal and Lambert's (1962) study of middle class children with support for their language learning concluded that children's experience with two language systems seemed to give them mental flexibility, superiority in concept formation, and a more diversified set of mental abilities than their monolingual peers. These findings for children have been fleshed out by other research. A study by Balkan (1970) which compared ages of children's language learning found that children who spoke more than one language before the age of four, performed better in numerical ability, verbal and perceptual flexibility and general reasoning (Romaine 1989). Ianco-Worrall (1972) found that 'bilingual' children reached a stage of semantic development two to three years earlier than monolinguals. Despite earlier findings that 'bilingual' children's vocabulary was smaller than monolinguals, it was discovered that if both their languages were added together they had an equivalent or even larger vocabulary. Doyle et al (1978) found that 'bilingual' children showed greater fluency in telling stories and using concepts than monolinguals. Children who spoke several languages demonstrated greater creativity, more divergent thinking, higher levels of selective attention, and an earlier and greater awareness of the arbitrary nature of the assignment of words to things than their monolingual counterparts. (Ben-Zeev 1977, Bialystok 1988, 1991, 1997, Carringer 1974, Grosjean 1982, Lambert 1977, Saunders 1982, Scott 1973, Swain & Cummins 1979).

As children begin to differentiate between their languages, they learn that different distinctions are drawn within different languages and that some concepts are untranslatable. For example, Dwivedi (1996) highlighted the richness of Asian languages in the use of mind-body idioms to describe feelings, so often misinterpreted when translated into English as somatisation because of the mind-body splitting prevalent in western approaches. The complexity available in South Asian languages to describe

relationships encodes distinctions not possible in English (Dwivedi 1996). Sacks (1989) highlighted differences between sign languages which represent experiences and concepts in a multi-level multi-dimensional way, and spoken languages which can only represent experience as linear, sequential and temporal. It has been proposed that exposure to two languages accelerates a child's ability to de-centre, to take other perspectives into account (Romaine 1995). One could argue that because of different perspectives offered by different languages, children who live in more than one language have learned that there is never just one way to describe anything. And indeed they have been found to show an increased sensitivity to others' cues (Genesee et al 1975). This research study was carried out as a laboratory experiment, studying children's responsiveness to sighted and blindfolded individuals, rather than through an analysis of children's language in use in everyday conversations and interactions. Ben-Zeev (1977) also found that bilingual children demonstrated greater capacity to use feedback than monolingual children in laboratory conditions. Children's ability to switch from one language to another, to 'frame' speech through their language use, from an early age, also relies on and facilitates their appreciation of different perspectives (Romaine 1989).

Such research studies, which have focused on individual ability, indicate that learning more than one language, in the best of circumstances, has effects on children's flexibility of thinking, their ability to position themselves and hold multiple perspectives. Such findings imply important effects of speaking several languages on the ways individuals make meanings with others and on their relationships. The ability to take others' perspectives into account, for example, has been found to be a significant stage in the development of a child's theory of mind and crucial to the way they engage in relationships (see Hobson 1993 & 2002 for a summary of this work). However, little is known of the effects of having one's private and public domains differentiated by language as a child, other than through anecdotal evidence. Elwert (1959), for example, reported that he

considered English, the language his parents spoke with him as the language of intimacy, while he saw Italian as the language spoken with his peers (reported in Romaine 1989). Individual and family meanings generated by speaking several languages seem particularly pertinent to therapists, and will be examined in Chapter 6, the Autobiographical Texts, and Chapter 7, the research participants' constructions of their childhoods in several languages.

Acquiring a new language later

In the literature, distinctions are made between individuals who have learned several languages simultaneously from infancy, termed 'polylingual' or 'compound bilinguals', and those who learn other languages when already established in language, called 'polyglot' or 'coordinate bilinguals', whose languages are considered to operate more separately (Amati-Mehler et al 1993, Cromdal 2000, Ervin & Osgood 1954, Weinreich 1953). Polyglots have been found to experience their languages differently due, it is argued, to their being acquired at different periods, unlike polylinguals who are thought not to make such differentiations between their languages (Amati-Mehler et al 1993, Pérez Foster 1996a, 1998).

There is ongoing controversy about whether the later acquisition of a second language is similar or different to that of a first language, and with its own critical period for acquisition (see Hakuta 1999 for a review of this literature). Many researchers of language learning argued that we lose the ability we had as young children to acquire language as we grow older (Lenneberg 1967, Pinker 1994), but Grosjean (1982) proposed that the most pertinent factor in becoming fluent in a second language is perceived necessity.

Lamendella (1997) agreed with this position, arguing that there is no evidence for a critical period for secondary language acquisition, as there is for primary language learning, although there is what he called, a sensitive period. Hakuta et al (2001) also found no

indications of a discontinuity which would be associated with the notion of a critical period of learning, but discovered a decrease in the ability to acquire another language with age, associated with a general decline in cognitive abilities. What were significantly linked to language learning, were socio-economic factors and years of formal education. However, there does seem to be general agreement that it is more difficult to acquire the accent of a 'native speaker' in later life.

Neurological research findings of language speaking are somewhat equivocal, with some studies finding different cortical networks involved in the speaking of languages learned at different ages (Kim et al 1997, Pinker 1994, Binder et al 1997, Pouratian et al 2000).

Several studies found that there was more right-brain involvement in 'bilingual' speakers than monolinguals particularly if they learnt their second language after the age of 11 (Grosjean 1982, de Zueleta 1984, 1990). Hirsch (1997) found that second languages learned after puberty employed different networks from those learned before this period. These neurological differences have been linked to how polylinguals and polyglots draw different distinctions between their languages. More recent findings have suggested that there are certain areas of the brain which deal with both languages and others which are involved with only one (Pinker 1994). The idea of particular areas of the brain being associated with particular functions (localisation of function) has long been challenged and superseded by ideas concerning more complex interactions between various parts of the brain. However, hypotheses such as the right hemisphere being more involved with emotional and contextual aspects of language processing and the left with analytical, word-finding and understanding, are still prevalent (Greenfield 2000). New brain imaging techniques, functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) and intraoperative optical imaging of intrinsic signals (iOIS), have enabled different kinds of research to be carried out concerning the language processing of multilingual persons, although findings remain

tentative concerning the overlapping and distinct cortical areas involved (Binder et al 1997, Pouratian et al 2000).

Work with aphasics, those with disturbances of speech and language caused by brain damage, have also revealed pertinent information about language use. Studies of aphasics have found a range of different patterns of language recovery in those who speak more than one language (Chary 1986, Grosjean 1982, Paradis 1977). Factors such as which language was learned first, which suggest that different neurological networks or areas of the brain are involved in the use of different languages, were considered significant.

Relationships, affective factors and context have been found to be important. One aphasic man retrieved the language in which he had first fallen in love, months before the languages he was using currently in his life (Grosjean 1982). Such findings suggest complex multifactorial influences, but it is striking that an exploration of relational and contextual influences have been left out of research of this kind.

Research with adults who speak more than one language has found that they describe different experiences in different languages. Ervin (1964) found that 'bilinguals' told different stories in each language when asked to relate what they see on Thematic Apperception Test cards. Grosjean's (1982) research participants described a 'change of personality' in themselves on changing language. Studies by Di Pietro (1977), Ervin-Tripp (1968, 1973), Gallagher (1968), Haugen (1956) and Mkilifi (1978) found similar kinds of differences, with individuals presenting different values and affective content in their different languages. Individuals have also been found to recall events very differently in their different languages (Javier 1996). de Zulueta (1990) reported that psychiatric patients who spoke several languages suffered from hallucinations and thought disorder in one language but were able to be coherent in another, and she linked this to neurological effects, differentiating between languages learned earlier and later. Hughes (1981) found that patients with more than one language who were diagnosed with major functional

disorders reported hearing voices in only one of their languages, or critical and aggressive voices only in their second language and supportive positive voices in their first. Pérez Foster (1998) noted that depending on which language was spoken, different issues were presented in psychoanalytic psychotherapy.

Whether it is the difference in age of acquisition, in the languages themselves, or in the contexts in which languages are used, it has been proposed that individuals develop different meanings in each language. Learning a new language involves crucially learning 'communicative competence' (Hymes 1972). This includes a range of skills such as establishing inter-subjectivity, appraising the relevant contexts for the unfolding stream of action and culturally specific conversational preference structures, using and interpreting indexing both inside and outside the interaction, interpreting and using 'footing' for humour and play, carrying out repair work when conversations go wrong, managing turn-taking, and using politeness strategies and markers. It involves learning the many sets of discursive practices within a language, and the complex negotiations of self-presentation and of category membership of different social groupings (Miller 2000). The process of learning a language involves learning how to conduct oneself as well as how to talk about it (Wachtel 2001), mainly taken for granted in first language acquisition. "In learning a new language, perceptibly or imperceptibly also our relationship with the world around us changes" (Stengel 1939 p114). Lévi-Strauss (1968) argued that different associations and affective and sensory paths are built up in each language, so that, as he said, one does not think or experience the same thing when saying 'cheese' as when saying 'fromage'.

These studies, located in different paradigms, raise questions about the differences between individuals' languages.

'Bilingualism' as an interactional resource

The turn to theorising 'language use' moved some of the focus of the research in 'bilingualism' to an examination of interactional meaning-making, cultural patterning of speech and the importance of context. Critical linguistics had challenged the idea of language as a system which had become predominant following Saussure's work on structuralism and Chomsky's on the grammar of language. This stance considers language as social, and meaning as contextual, as constructed through power relationships and with 'stake' (Kress 2001). Studies using ethnomethodological and conversation analytic approaches have researched 'bilingual' language use in every day social encounters, similar to equivalent studies within one language.

When individuals speak more than one language, they have the possibility to switch between their languages. 'Code-switching', the alternating of languages within a conversation, had for many years been viewed negatively as evidence of not knowing either language well, linked to other negative ideas about bilingualism (Romaine 1989, Li Wei 2002). However, as Poplack (1980) pointed out, intra-sentential switching, which happens within clause or sentence boundaries, requires an individual to be very fluent in both their languages. Researchers turned to conversation analysis arguing that an analytic procedure which focused on interactive process was needed to study the meaning of code-switching because sequential choices of language would only have meaning in the conversational context (Li Wei 2002).

Studies of code-switching highlighted its use as a discursive resource, for 'meta-languaging' purposes, a skill which children as early as 2 years and 8 months can use (Gumperz 1982, Romaine 1989). Code-switching can be used to mark a type of discourse

or genre (Maschler 1994), and to change 'footing' - the participation framework and/or performance format of talk (Goffman 1979). (Interestingly, Cromdal (2000) points out that Goffman's work on 'footing' drew on earlier work on code-switching.) Switching between languages can change context or positioning (Auer 1988), or can be used for irony or to play. It can mark an interjection, reiterate something for emphasis, and qualify a message. Code-switching can address a particular individual, draw distinctions between 'us' and 'them', and exclude or include others.

Li Wei (2002) emphasised the importance of examining how the meaning of code-switching is constructed in interaction. Some analyses of codeswitching have been criticised for being over-organised by researcher notions of somewhat simplified overarching cultural values or individual psychological factors; that is, for neglecting power relations and participant-relevant local accomplishments (Auer 1995, Cromdal 2000). Sebba and Wootton (1998) argued for the importance of researching conversation-internal criteria. Their study of code-switching by a group of black students in London between British Standard English, London English, and London Jamaican, demonstrated how they used switching to construct identities, negotiated by drawing on resources both inside and outside of the interactions themselves. Sebba and Wootton pointed out that boundaries of languages and communities were not always clear and were negotiated through the participants' situated and local practices. Cromdal's (2000) study of the way children used code-switching between Swedish and English to construct local meanings interactionally at a 'bilingual' school in Sweden, demonstrated that bilingualism should be viewed as an emergent and interactionally managed feature of discourse. Rampton (1995, 1998), following studies such as those of Hewitt (1986) and Jones (1988), examined 'language crossing', the use of language associated with a social or ethnic group to which the speaker does not 'belong'. He looked at the use of Punjabi, standard Asian English and Creole by adolescents, who produced stylised, playful and joking interactions, as a marker

of friendship in cross-ethnic interactions, although this use could also be read as racist intentions at times. Adolescents used 'language crossing' to challenge teachers and authority. Rampton argued that these adolescents' use of 'crossing' could be viewed as creating a way for linguistic identities to co-exist helpfully, and challenging racialised inclusions and exclusions, although this may have been over optimistic on his part. Similar to the ways in which individuals make an identity salient within one language, using strategies to claim and disown membership of social groups (Antaki et al 1996, Widdicombe 1998a, 1998b), these studies demonstrated that language switching and crossing are resources for making identities salient.

Individuals are also able to draw on a new language to gain a 'voice'. Maybin (1998, 1999) has highlighted how young persons constructed personhood through the taking on and reporting others' voices within the same language. Stroud (1998) identified how code-switching could be used as a creative discursive resource, a double voicing polyphony technique which fostered an ambiguity about whose words were used and meant. Such work is related to and draws on Bakhtin 's notion of 'heteroglossia', the ability to refract intention through the differential use of different social languages within one language, which I will return to later. Burton (1994) found that the use of a second language sometimes offered possibilities of encoding meanings not permitted in a first language. Tual (1986), for example, found that Iranian women were free to speak in front of men in their second language, which they could not do in their first.

Making use of several languages increased individuals' range of discursive and interactional resources, alongside an ability to draw on different meaning systems. The research, to date however, has mainly ignored the ways in which families and their members who speak several languages make use of their 'bilingualism' as an interactional resource, which is especially pertinent for family therapy.

Second language communications

Sociolinguistic studies which concentrated on researching adults' language use at work within hierarchical relationships, have shown how hidden differences in participants' communicative resources disrupted discussion, generated negative social categorisations and resulted in the reproduction of racism (Rampton 1995). Different intonations used by second language speakers are often 'read' as having particular affective and social meanings. Gumperz (1982) found that Pakistani and Indian women in Britain were often considered by white English people as surly, because of differences in intonation. (Another reading of this research finding could include the idea that these women's presentations were part of their survival strategies in a hostile and racist environment.)

However, these kinds of misinterpretations between first and second language speakers have been given little adequate attention, either in research or in everyday life, and yet could have profound effects on individuals' sense of self, and on their relationships.

Given systemic psychotherapy's concerns with communication more generally, it is particularly pertinent to examine some of the ways such misunderstandings are produced in cross language and cross cultural talk, and how individuals position themselves in relation to these.

Researching bilingual / multilingual speakers' views

Recent research within the sociolinguistics field has sought to include speakers' own views of their language use (Kanno 2000, McKay & Wong 1996, Miller 2000, Mills 2001, Norton 2000, Pavlenko 2002, Smith 1999, Velásquez 1995). This work has examined complexities of speakers' experiences in a number of different domains. Norton (2000)

explored language learners' positioning in power relationships, and how this affected their opportunities to speak and claim legitimacy as a speaker. Mills (2001) and Smith (1999) researched the meanings given to different languages, and Pavlenko (2002) focused on different meanings in different languages, and their effects. A number of studies examined the interaction between language use and identity (Kanno 2000, McKay & Wong 1996, Miller 2000, Mills 2001). Despite a recognition in sociolinguistics that self-report often reflects idealised rather than actual language use (Bucholtz 1995), these studies indicate and reflect my own view of the fruitfulness of interviews with speakers themselves, to explore issues of power, meaning and identity.

Language attrition

In the context of the concern at the loss of languages in the world in recent years, researchers have examined processes of language loss. Rindstedt carried out research in San Antonio, a highland community in Ecuador and found that despite a strong belief that speaking Quichua was linked to Indian identity in the community, young children had mainly switched to speaking Spanish because of its dominance in education and its use in sibling relationships (Rindstedt & Aronsson 2001). In the south west of the United States, where Spanish was considered as threatening to usurp English, it has been found that Spanish seldom lasts beyond the third generation (Pease-Alvarez 1993). As I go on to examine later, communities usually experience loss of language as threatening to their identity.

There is disagreement about the effect on individuals of losing their first language, although this can be linked to the meanings of this for the whole community. Adler (1977) thought attrition of language changed one's outlook because it was impossible to express former opinions exactly, and learning a new language changed one's opinions, while

Seliger (1989) proposed that one lost expressive, not conceptual, ability. Much research has neglected subtle processes, shifts in use and fluency in changing contexts, perhaps because, as Cromdal (2000) argued, of the predominant emphasis in research on language competence. Saunders' (1982) study of his own sons, raised to speak both German and English, found that after using English at school all day, they needed time to adjust to German again. Elwert (1959) who was brought up trilingually, reported that he found it impossible to say which of the three languages he spoke best without reference to time and place. The circumstances leading to language attrition have an important effect. In the context of genocide, Apfelbaum (1997) argued that the effect of not being able to speak one's first language, of 'not being at home' in one's own tongue, deprives individuals of self-assurance, sense of control and a link to one's heritage. The symbolic meaning of language here is crucially significant.

Summary and conclusion

To summarise, research in the last two decades has challenged the ongoing negativity associated with 'bilingualism'. The indications are that speaking several languages enables children to think in flexible ways and hold multiple perspectives. 'Bilingualism' has also been found to provide a considerable interactional resource, through the use of code-switching and flexibility in expressiveness. However, these findings have, on the whole, not changed commonly held negative attitudes and monolingual norms persist. At the same time, it has been found that the maintenance of children's use of minoritised languages is dependent on support and resources, which means it is particularly challenging in the context of the antipathy towards other languages in Britain. This makes research in this area both appealing and important, in order to contribute to making 'bilingualism' more visible.

The research studies above, carried out in a number of different areas, including neurological and psychological testing, have demonstrated significant differences between individuals' languages. These are very interesting findings, and resonate with my personal and professional experiences, and yet, the implications of these differences have, with some contemporary exceptions, been little explored. As recent sociolinguistic research has demonstrated, it is pertinent to include individuals' own accounts of their experience in and of their languages, to explore such differences.

An exploration of the effects of the ways individuals experience and use their languages, through inviting individuals to be reflective about their own language use, is the focus of my own study and is located in a research paradigm which considers language as constitutive and performative. Such a social constructionist approach regards language and power as interlinked, with inequitable relationships socially constructed over time, through which symbolic and material resources are produced, distributed and validated (Norton 2000). It focuses on interconnections between discourse and power in language speaking. My study also attempts to straddle ideas of psychological processes, of language performance and of interactional meaning making.

Chapter 2 – SUBJECTIVITY, IDENTITY AND SOCIAL STRUGGLES

The review of research on bilingualism in the previous chapter demonstrated the importance of social, relational and contextual factors and identity. Following up these themes, this chapter examines subjectivity, self and identity, and then the broader social and political contexts and struggles. Research interviews, which explore individuals' accounts of their experiences of their languages, also provide a context which invites individuals to account for themselves. This research study concerns questions of subjectivity, of self-accounts in the context of living in different languages.

Subjectivity, Self and Identity

In this section I examine definitions of subjectivity, the self and identity. Systemic psychotherapy is concerned with the connections between individual subjectivity and relational and contextual processes. I discuss narrative theory and the construction of identity, as this theorising has been particularly influential in the systemic psychotherapy field. I also make links between narrative theory and discursive practices of selfhood. I draw out some implications of these ways of thinking for those who live in several languages. I conclude this section by summarising questions raised for an exploration of subjectivity in the context of being positioned in several languages.

Trying to make distinctions between conceptualisations of subjectivity, the self and identity has been important but challenging, as these terms are often used interchangeably. This research project draws on a conceptualisation of subjectivity as 'dynamic and multiple, positioned in relation to particular discourses and practices and produced by these' (Henriques et al 1984, p.3). The question of how individuals take up or refuse positions raised by Henriques and colleagues, the connections between the 'self', the

processes through which subjects are constructed and contested, and the ‘discursive’ remains under-theorised.

‘Identity’ has been posited as the term through which it is possible to untangle how discourse and agency interlink and are inscribed within unequal power relationships (Bhavnani & Phoenix 1994), but it has also been formulated as something claimed, but never attained (Benjamin 1998), longed for rather than ‘owned’ (Rose 1998), and a fiction (Hall 1987). Brah (1996) conceptualises identities as process, as contingent, indeterminate and conflictual, and constructed through the intersectionality of ‘race’, gender, class, ethnicity, culture, generation and sexuality. Connell (1987) proposed the idea of an ‘identity project’, emphasising the ‘doing’ of personality, the unification of diverse and often contradictory practices, through which disjunctions, fragments and incoherence are worked. Brah’s (1996) conceptualisation of diasporic identities is particularly pertinent to this research study in which many individuals have trans-cultural identifications, and multiple locations. The systemic psychotherapy field has also drawn on this theorisation of the ‘self’ as relational and discursive, with narratives of self and relationship negotiated in interaction with others over time as ongoing processes. In developing their narratives of self in interaction with others, individuals draw on culturally available resources, as they take up and resist various positions offered in relationship. For systemic psychotherapists, the challenge has been to pay attention to both the embedded and the embodied relational self (Hardham 1996).

Narrative and Identity

Ricoeur (1984) believes that there is no other way for us to describe lived time other than through narrative, and that we emplot our lived experience. Or as Freeman (1993) put it “the very project of living is imaginative and bound to narrative”. Narrative theory has

been influential in my work as a systemic psychotherapist to theorise how family members have come to know themselves and each other in the ways they do, with its central tenet that the self is constructed, is storied through interaction with others (Bruner 1986), and that in this process language produces meaning and does not just reflect experience. Individuals are in the midst of creating stories together even as they live them. Freeman (1993) has drawn attention to the way we perpetuate the idea that we start at the beginning in telling our stories of self, when we actually start at the end, describing our past experiences in the light of our current position and our imagined future. Our narratives of self can be considered hypotheses that offer us meanings of our experiences over time, as determinative of the 'facts' as vice-versa. Or as Bruner put it, one can consider autobiography as justification. The construction, telling and reconstruction of the stories of our lived experience is our memory, and is continually evolving. In this view, not all lived experience is storied and narratives of self are considered both as constructions and claims of identity (Linde 1993). Every story is an act of censorship (Rushdie 1985). Narrative validity is dependent on audience, on affirmation of others with whom we are in relationship, and on the resources available, dependent on what Polonoff (1987) has called, believability, liveability and empirical adequacy. Not achieving an adequate 'fit' within an officially recognised narrative may involve being dismissed and denied recognition, being de-authorised (Wilkinson & Kitzinger 1996).

"We never cease to reinterpret the narrative identity that constitutes us, in the light of the narratives proposed to us by our culture" (Ricoeur 1991 p 32). Each culture offers 'canonical narrative forms', stories of selves which provide templates for organising lived experience. Bruner & Gorfain (1991) proposed that it was the cultural stories that were open-ended, ambiguous and paradoxical, that enabled dialogic and emergent co-construction, which became most significant. Making an identification with a particular identity or narrative itself becomes constitutive (Alibhai-Brown 1997). The ability to

identify the cultural genres which have been available and the ways one has taken them up to tell the story of one's life (Ricoeur 1985) can enable individuals to take an ironic position, conscious enough of the discursive cultural order to make transgression, critique (Freeman 1993, Willig 1999) and therapeutic change possible (Burck & Daniel 1995a).

At what age can children's narratives of self, identity and relationship be said to begin to form? The question is tied to the development of memory and the ability to tell stories. Parents' and caretakers' developing stories about infants have effects prior to their own participation in the telling of these. Children take up subject positions available in their parents' and others' talk addressed to them (Dunn 1995). In Forrester's (2001) study of father-young child interactions using conversation analysis, he identified positionings of self offered in the talk. The ability to narrate starts to develop when children are two to three years old, when they begin to tell stories in language. Repeated story telling in families has performative effects, constructing positionings and moral orders, as well as absences, in the family's narratives. One route for family story telling in Britain is through the use of family photographs, through which parents co-construct their children's memories (Edwards & Middleton 1988). Children use narratives in their interactions with peers and other adults to take on others' voices in an evaluative way to explore questions and dilemmas (Maybin 2001b).

Slobin (1996) proposed that children learn particular ways of 'thinking for speaking', by which he means picking those characteristics of objects and events that fit some conceptualisation of the event and are readily encodable in language. His study of children's story-telling found that children using different languages focused attention on different aspects of events shown pictorially. Each culture has its particular ways of using language, telling stories, remembering information, and making inferences (Mistry 1997). Children in different language communities have been found to develop narratives of self

differently. Some writers have argued these vary because of different narrative structures available (Gee 1998, Holmes 1998, Kopijn 1998), others propose that there are cultural differences in how the 'self' is conceptualised (Budwig 1998, Morris 1994, Wierzbicka 1997) and others focus on the way languages provide different ways of indexing oneself (Mülhausler & Harré 1990, Shotter 1989). Children are also positioned differently within their languages dependent on their 'race', gender, ethnicity, and class.

Remembering is emotionally marked, and strong affect has been shown to have an effect on how individuals remember from infancy onwards (Beebe & Lachman 2002). Self narratives are often constructed in relation to turning points and significant moments, which are marked by affect in this way (Daniel & Thompson 1996). Women and men have been found to 'do remembering' differently, reflecting back on family transitions of death or parental separation as children, with women recollecting vivid details and feelings, and men talking of not remembering until interviewers unpacked events with them (Daniel & Thompson 1996). These differences may link to different gendered expectations at the time. Trauma often cannot be languaged because it seems beyond sense, lies outside our narrative capabilities with which we try to order our experiences. In relation to the Holocaust, Anissimov (1998) notes that "Primo Levi avoided recounting his experiences too often because the story tended to set into a crystallized form that displaced the raw memory" (p5), and perhaps this entailed a sense of disloyalty as a witness. Here 'raw memory', (if there ever is such a thing), stands for atrocities to which no narrative seems able to do justice – what Lacan has termed the 'real' – that which cannot be symbolised or imagined, the important impossibilities in our lives (Frosh 2001).

The privileging of coherence in narratives, with coherent self narratives rated as healthier in attachment research (Fonagy, Steele & Steele 1991) and as more truthful in a courtroom setting (Gergen 1994) and the lure of 'canonical narrative forms' invite particular

constructions of self. Kristeva (1986) and Irigaray (1985) argued that Western narrative form created a demand for coherence through its structure, and required challenge as distorting and subverting experiences, particularly those of women, which were fragmentary, multiple and contradictory. Narratives of self as claims of identity predispose individuals to experience a pull to find resolution to disjuncture and contradictions within their self accounts (Linde 1993).

Said (2001) and Rose (2001) warned of the difficulties in sustaining experiences of fissure in identity and how easily individuals and communities erase these and become attached to dogma, the myth of unitary identity, in the face of fragmentation. Linde (1993) proposed that coherence is both a social demand and an internal demand, but popular coherence systems are not rich enough to support multiple interpretations. Some would posit psychoanalysis as providing more complex ways of conceptualising the self and narrative, although Spence (1988) has argued that the psychoanalytic concept of the 'unconscious' is a device to counter randomness, chaos and unpredictability, thus providing less, rather than more complexity (Freeman 1993). And while compliance with culturally available narratives often goes unnoticed (Daniel & Thompson 1996) there are particular challenges for individuals who feel "locked out of a collective story which would give meaning to life" (Kirkman 1997). 'Official silence' is harmful because it delegitimises private history and lived experience (Apfelbaum 1997).

Recounting a narrative is also a discursive strategy. Witten (1993) proposed that speakers are able to make strongly persuasive assertions and truth claims through narrative discourse, because they are protected from examination and challenge through their emotional engagement and coherence, and the rules of storytelling in Western discourse make it difficult for listeners to question. Narrative style is also self presentation, so that a shift in style often accompanies a shift in social identity (Gee 1998). Narratives in different

cultures have different structures as well as content, and ways of telling and listening (Holmes 1998, Mistry 1997).

My own view of language has been much influenced by social constructionist ideas in which language is viewed as constitutive and in recursive relationship with experience over time (Gergen 1985, 1994, Shotter 1993). The construction, telling and reconstruction of the story of our lived experience is our memory, and the relationships and context within which we create our narratives/our memories shape selection and construction. The forms and genres of narrative privileged in our cultures and the subject positions offered in relation to our gender, class, 'race', ethnicity and sexuality also inform personal narrative construction, as do the resources available to sustain them. In this view, language is seen as profoundly bound up with producing and maintaining unequal power relationships.

This literature indicates that children and adults positioned in several languages may construct different narratives of self in their different linguistic contexts, related to differences of structure, conceptualisations of self, indexing, styles of presentation and available canonical narratives – that is, they may construct multiple self narratives. However, these writings also suggest that individuals will experience demands for coherence and difficulties in sustaining fissures or fragmentation.

Discursive resources and interpretative repertoires

In order for individuals to co-construct their own and each other's narratives, they draw on the discursive resources of their languages, and position themselves and each other through their interactions.

Discourse has been theorised at a number of different levels. Here I take a discourse as a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, and stories (Burr 1995), as an institutionalised use of language (Davies & Harré 1997), which produces particular versions of events and the social world. “Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organisation and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed.” (Weedon 1997 p21)

Foucault (1980) propounded the constitutive effect of power, positing power and knowledge as intertwined. He defined and identified discourses of ‘truth’, dominant discourses and the processes through which knowledge comes to be produced and known over time. Through his ‘archaeological’ studies he highlighted the ways in which individuals were invited to regulate themselves, and attempted to make visible the subjugated discourses, local knowledges which had been disqualified in these processes and remained invisible. These ideas have had a considerable impact on the family therapy field, and enabled family therapists to highlight the discourses in use in therapy, and to identify neglected aspects of lived experiences (White & Epston 1990).

These ideas of discourses as global historical resources (Foucault 1980) informed theorisation concerning the interweaving of discourse, power and subjectivity. This was complemented by the elaboration of the notion of discursive practices to address questions of agency, the ways in which individuals were hailed by discourses, drew on and resisted these. Discursive practices are considered as offering ‘subject positions’, which comprise of a location (Davies & Harré 1997), and of interpretative repertoires, those taken-for-granted familiar lines of argument and proposition through which individuals makes sense of themselves and each other and the events in which they participate (Wetherell 1998). Individuals are positioned and position themselves through these practices and their

subjectivity is constituted through the learning and use of certain discursive practices (Davies & Harré 1997). Individuals use numbers of contradictory discursive practices to make sense of themselves and each other, to produce ‘untroubled’ and ‘troubled’ subject positions, locally indexed, in the processes of constituting and reconstituting themselves in interaction with others (Wetherell 1998). Individuals work hard to repair their troubled positionings which present troubling ideological dilemmas (Wetherell 1998), as these would accumulate to invoke a particular social identity (Antaki et al 1996).

Individuals are also considered as ‘doing identity’, in that the taking up of particular subject positions in the talk with others, is performative and constitutive (Connell 1987). Such performances of identification are constructed through relational practices, constructed through distinctions drawn of similarities and differences. The processes of identity construction are therefore impacted on by the effect of making these identifications as well as the discursive subject positions available. In other words, there is a recursive link between the ways individuals are continuously negotiating their identities through discursive practices and performing these.

I return to the concepts of discursive practices, interpretative repertoires and performance, which I have outlined here briefly, in Chapter 4 on Methodological Considerations, as these ideas are central to discourse analysis, one of the methodological approaches I have drawn on for the analysis of my research interviews and the autobiographical texts.

Summary

This literature indicates that different languages offer different discourses and subject positions to individuals, as well as different cultural narratives on which to draw for their self-accounts. Narrative theories point to the demands for coherence on individuals, both

externally and internally, and raise questions about how individuals process their diversities, in accounting for themselves. My examination of this literature points to the fruitfulness of conducting an exploration with individuals who speak several languages, of how they consider the multiplicities offered by their languages and how they construct themselves. These explorations will enable scrutiny and elaboration of the concept and construction of multiple subjectivities.

Language, Thought and Experience

There remain very large questions concerning the relation between thought and language, and between experience and language, which are vigorously contested in philosophy, psychology and related fields and are far beyond the scope of this thesis. Burman (1994) for example, noted that the liveliest area of debate in developmental psychology concerns research on language because of its connection to questions concerning theories of mind. Adherents to Chomsky's structural approach to language, such as Pinker (1994), propose that thought and language are independent, while those who follow Vygotsky, take a more functional perspective, seeing thought developing as an internalisation of dialogue. In this view, speaking is considered a socially and culturally situated activity, in which socialisation is a crucial aspect of language learning (Ochs 1996), and infants become agentive enculturated language-using persons by being treated as such (Burman 1994, Edwards 1997). Becoming a proficient speaker means knowing what to say to whom in what circumstances (Hymes 1972), being able to use and read contextualisation cues (Gumperz 1992), demonstrating appropriateness structurally, rhetorically and discursively (Berman & Slobin 1994), with the ability to position oneself in the discourses that matter to action (Heilbrun 1988).

Within the linguistics field much debate about language and thought became focused on the Whorf-Sapir hypothesis of the 1940s, which proposed a relation between the structural features of a language and specific modes of thought. Whorf had examined the different concepts of time in the English and the Hopi languages postulating this to be connected to different grammatical structures. Many linguists who currently support the idea that different languages have different cultural concepts embedded in them, view differences in meanings as shaped by cultural context rather than grammatical structure. They posit a cultural relativity of interpretation rather than linguistic relativity as such (Gumperz & Levinson 1996). Differences found among interpretations within any one language are also seen to be dependent on socialisation into local knowledge and practices (Clark 1996), and as contested (Kress 2001). "Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life" (Bakhtin 1935/1981 p 293).

There are important and unresolved questions too concerning the place of language in the conceptualisation of 'experience' which is not put into language, with a range of positions taken. There are those who privilege that which is 'beyond language' (cf Frosh 2001 following Lacan) and those who privilege language as constructing all experience.

This extremely brief review can only indicate the complexities of the conceptualisations of the relationship between language, thought and experience, and hint at past and current disagreements.

As I have already indicated in my review of the literature on interpretative repertoires and discursive practices, my own view of language has been much influenced by social constructionist and discursive ideas, that is, I see language as constitutive and performative, comprised of discursive practices which produce meanings and values, as well as having material effects. This view has been informed by Wittgenstein's (1953) idea

of 'language games' and their specific practices, that the meanings of words come from the context of their use, and by his notion that "the limits of my language are the limits of my world" (Wittgenstein 1961). The context of the social-historical conditions under which particular linguistic practices become dominant and legitimate is also crucial (Bourdieu 1991).

What is particularly significant for this study is how important it is to consider languages not only as constitutive of meaning, but also as contexts within which individuals position themselves and are positioned.

Language, Identity and Social Struggles

Identity and the self are commonly conceptualised as private subjective phenomenon, but the literature I have just reviewed on narrative construction and discursive practices indicate that identities are embedded in the social, in power relationships. In this section of the literature review, I examine how language speaking is interrelated with identity at a community and group level, and the ways in which it has been signified in social struggles. I consider the importance of contextual factors on language use and its meanings. I review ways in which racialised identity, ethnicity and cultural identity have been conceptualised and attempt to elucidate how language speaking may interlink with these constructions. I examine literature of biculturalism and transculturalism, to consider ways these overlap with issues of being positioned in several languages.

I review literature on translation because this is a field particularly concerned with the relationship between languages, and therefore I argue, pertinent to those who live in several languages. I also consider issues of power relationships and language raised in the translation field, by reviewing some literature on abuses and resistances in language. I

examine issues concerning gender and language, which although on the whole, neglected in the writing on 'bilingualism' to date, are extremely pertinent to individuals and families who live in several languages. Cultural theorists also have pertinent things to add to this area. To summarise this section, I raise questions about how these social processes impact on individuals' language speaking, and how I have attempted to explore this in the research.

Contextual factors and language use

Linguists have often carried out research in 'bilingualism' in laboratory situations on aspects of language processing, far removed from everyday speaking situations, or on dissecting 'naturally' occurring language, with a focus on individual competence. Many studies, until relatively recently, neglected issues of power and colonisation and the effect of the social and political context on language use and individuals' positioning within language. Cromdal (2000) has made the point that much of this research was underpinned by an idea of language as a medium to communicate internal mental processes with others, where language was considered as a transparent conduit. Kress (2001) argues for the importance of language to be seen as social, as 'doing' power. Cultural theorists, such as hooks, have highlighted the impact of the hierarchical and power relationship between languages, and formulated the dilemmas of people trapped in a "context that defines freedom solely in terms of learning the oppressor's language" (1989 p 29). Individuals are required to use the dominant language which constitutes them as assimilated subjects.

English is considered a 'strong language' throughout the world. Its status, built on its colonial past and promulgated through the dominance of the United States, means that it is intimately entangled with power relationships, and its use disseminated through globalisation. It has had powerful influences on other languages in translation processes,

rather than more equal two way interactions (Asad 1986), although English always has and continues to borrow from other languages. It is reported that 88% of scientific and technical literature is either published in English initially or translated into English almost immediately (Steiner 1998a). Alongside this, there has been increasing concern about the loss of languages in the world in recent years, and increased attention has been paid to processes of language loss in an attempt to reverse these.

Speaking several languages is valued very differently in different societies, and in Britain there is more antipathy towards other languages than elsewhere in Europe (Zeldin 1997). Despite the range and variety of languages spoken by families in Britain - a recent survey identified 307 languages spoken by children in London schools – this multilingualism has not changed dominant attitudes towards other languages. Indeed, as noted in the Introduction, currently there is a move within the education system in Britain for foreign language learning no longer to be compulsory above the age of 14.

It therefore seems crucial to think contextually when researching language use and experience. Power relationships and the prevalent antipathy towards other languages cannot but have a profound impact on the ways children and adults in Britain are positioned in relation to their languages. This question will be addressed in the research.

Language signified as carrier of identity

Language carries symbolic meanings (Fishman 1996), and one central meaning given is its signification as the carrier of national identity. This is reflected in sayings in many different languages: Welsh - Heb iaith, heb gendedl (No language, no nation); Bengali - Nanan deshe nanan bhasha bina shodeshi bhasha miteki asha (One can use the language of other countries, but one can only get fulfilment in the mother tongue); Hungarian Romani

saying - Amari chib si amari zor (Our language is our strength); Hungarian - Nyelvében él a nemzet (The nation lives in its language); Sinhala - Bhashava jaathiye rudhirayaii (Language is the lifeblood of a people); Panjabi - boli hai Panjabi sadi rhoo jind jan sadi gidyan di khan sadi (Our language is Panjabi. It is our life and soul, it is a treasure of folksongs) (Alladina & Edwards 1991a, 1991b). And it is demonstrated in the fact that the Armenians have a saint associated with their language. The significance of language is accentuated when a country or community is threatened with extinction or has been territorially dispossessed.

Not surprisingly then, language speaking can be used to enact both collective and individual identity and to make political claims. In this respect, identity can be considered a thing to be possessed and displayed for political purposes (Gilroy 2000). Other power relationships come into play here, as in the current debate in Jamaica, around the wish to legitimise Jamaican, the first language of the majority of the people, as an official language. This is positioned in relation to the history of slavery as well as the need to speak English in an era of globalisation (Turriff 2002). At a community level, the realisation of loss of language, and everything it symbolises, can lead to attempts to revitalise the language. But this is rarely straightforward, as the dilemmas that arose in Wales about how to engage others in the everyday and living use of Welsh demonstrate. Some individuals experienced this as having Welsh forced on them by others, and there were complex intersections with class, with middle class families sending their children to Welsh schools, while working class families viewed English as the route to economic success (Stead 1997). Protests were also made against the introduction of Gaelic into the school curriculum in Ireland in the attempt to re-establish this language (Romaine 1995). The revitalisation of Hebrew as the language for the State of Israel on the other hand, has been highly successful because its signification was coterminous with the building of the Nation State and meaningful for all in the context of the history of the Holocaust (Romaine 1995).

Because of its signification as an assertion of national as well as cultural identity in the context of contact with other languages, individuals often use their language speaking as a claim of identity. Mahmoud Darwish, a Palestinian poet who was denied the recognition of citizenship in the State of Israel, settled on the Palestinian language itself as central to his identity (Forché 2001). For Darwish, language stands in for the claim to national and cultural identity and the marking of difference in the absence of territory. Language can thus be used to claim personal and political identity. Others make different decisions, and there are Arabic Israeli poets and writers who write in Hebrew, a claim of belonging and a way to challenge Zionist exclusionary discourses (Elad-Bouskila 1999). Choice of language can therefore make claims of various kinds and is often a powerful form of political action.

Individuals' use of language to make identity claims fluctuate, with meanings shifting depending on the context. 'Bilingual' individuals have been found to switch between their languages, in their everyday usage, to claim social and ethnic identities, which are negotiated and constructed within their interactions (see bilingualism as an interactional resource above). Whole communities have developed norms of code-switching which then come to define membership of that linguistic group, such as the New York Puerto Rican 'bilingual' community who switch between English and Spanish researched by Zentalla (1997) and this has also been characteristic of Lebanese communities who switched between Arabic and French (Maalouf 2000).

This literature thus points to ways in which choice of language and switching between languages are used in complex ways to claim personal and political identities, in everyday interactions as well as in political domains. In this language usage, the meanings of

individuals' languages are of central significance, and this is an important dimension of language speaking that has currently not been explored in the research literature.

Racialised identities, ethnicities, culture, class and language

There are considerable difficulties in dis-entangling language and culture, and because 'culture' became a prevalent signifier for 'race' in Britain in recent years, it has made it more difficult as Brah (1996) pointed out, to interrogate 'culture' more rigorously.

Drawing distinctions between concepts of ethnicity, culture and 'race' is therefore important, in order to examine their intersections with language speaking.

Over the last decades important theoretical work has been carried out concerning the racialisation of identities, and its intersections with gender, class, culture and ethnicity (Bhavnani & Phoenix 1994, Brah 1996, Brah et al 1999, Hall 1987, Henriques et al 1984), which has posited the usefulness of the notion of multiple subjectivities.

The concept of racialised identities emphasises the processes involved, in the context of historical and everyday racisms and unequal power relationships, through which the social construct of 'race' is given meaning over time. Identities are constructed relationally through difference (Hall 1987) and cultural and linguistic signifiers as well as biological and religious ones have been used to construct racialised boundaries and identities (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992). Work which has explored racialisation processes in different countries, has highlighted how identities are racialised differentially and how they shift, dependent on context and over time (Silverman & Yuval-Davis 1999).

Ethnicity concerns identity at the level of the group in relationship with other groups, what Haarman (1986) has called the experience of a community's self-identification in its

ecological setting. Hall posits ethnicity as an acknowledgement of the "place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity" (1995 p 226). It is constructed in an ongoing way from within and outside the group through difference and dominant ideology (Krause 1998). Ethnicity is the process of boundary formation between groups shaped by socio-economic and political circumstances (Barth 1969), but has been generally treated as if it is inherited, primordial and signifies a demarcated culture.

Language can be used to mark boundaries, and where this is so, becomes considered a criterion of ethnicity. Accent has similarly been used as a marker of ethnicity (Wachtel 2000). Ethnic and linguistic boundaries are not fixed, but shift depending on context, on multiple group membership, as well as on time. Clachar (1997) for example, found that for Puerto Ricans returning after living in the States, Spanish changed as a marker of belonging to the Puerto Rican community in the States, to a designation as an outsider in Puerto Rico due to a loss of fluency, which then emphasised their American-ness.

Culture can be considered at a number of different levels: as a set of practices, theories and material and institutional products (Ochs 1996), as that which is background, the taken-for-granted, assumptions such as of personhood, of relationships and of how life is lived and ought to be lived (Krause 2002) and as process, dynamic, evolving and contested, as "the play of signifying practices; the idiom in which social meaning is constituted, appropriated, contested and transformed; the space where the entanglement of subjectivity, identity and politics is performed" (Brah 1996 p234). The different ways individuals are positioned and position themselves within these signifying practices, that is, live their culture, is dependent on their racialisation, ethnicity, gender, class, and sexual orientation among other factors. Speaking is a central signifying practice, and language, a context in and through which individuals are positioned. Language and culture are often inextricably linked. Language is 'culture-soaked' - cultural concepts are embedded in language and its

use, as well as being signified as carrying cultural identity, as discussed in the previous section. Cultural identity is often conflated with ethnicity.

What becomes apparent in considering these definitions is that the processes of the construction of racialised identities, ethnicities and cultural identities overlap and intersect. Cultural difference has been used as a signifier in the racialisation of identity, and as a marker of ethnicity, and vice versa. Language speaking has been designated as a signifier in the construction of racialised identities, ethnicities and cultural identities, while positioning within a language, is influenced by racialisation, ethnicity and cultural identity. These constructions are given meaning through unequal power relationships. What it means to be positioned in more than one language and culture varies considerably dependent on an individual's racialised identity, ethnicity, gender and class, as well as on the languages and cultures involved.

Interconnections between language use and class within one language have often been noted, with accent and different social languages constructed as markers of class. For immigrants, second language learners, class differences have been found to be highly significant to their experiences. Upper middle class families who move countries are generally able to retain their privilege and status and offer their children opportunities, while middle class and working class families face adversity and a reduction in opportunities, and suffer loss of status and class through language difficulties, racism and discrimination (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001). Norton (2000) for example, found that immigrants in her study in Canada became positioned as working class. Hamers & Blanc (2000) also found that non standard accented speakers were usually rated lower on intelligence and social status.

Because dominant representations in Britain have often reduced such multi-layered identifications to homogenous and essentialising constructs (Ang-Lygate 1996), this research project attempts to explore and sustain the complexities involved in living in several linguistic contexts from each individual's perspective. It will explore the place of language in racialisation processes and in the constructions of ethnicities and cultural identities.

Biculturalism and transculturalism

Individuals and families who speak more than one language are usually situated in more than one cultural context, so the literature on biculturalism and transculturalism is of considerable relevance to the concerns of this research study. In this section I look at a number of different approaches to examining biculturalism and transculturalism.

Individuals who are positioned in two cultures have often been pathologised in similar ways to those who speak more than one language, and have come under intense pressure to acculturate, while at the same time experiencing exclusion. LaFromboise and her colleagues (1993) reviewed US research literature, much of it focused on First Nation and Hispanic communities, on the psychological impact of being bicultural, and critically examined the models developed of living with two cultures. In particular they highlighted the dangers and stress associated with the processes of assimilation and acculturation. They noted that an individual's ability to alternate between two cultures was found to be beneficial. Using a positivist paradigm, as had many of the research studies they reviewed, LaFromboise et al went on to elaborate the concept of 'bicultural competence', associated with an ease with one's sense of identity, and the ability to communicate effectively and construct relationships within each cultural grouping.

Apfelbaum (1997) has asked how competing cultural histories impact on the construction of a person's identity in the context of a history of genocide, when attempts have been made to obliterate people physically and culturally. She noted that survivors often choose silence to try to protect their children from the knowledge of atrocities, but silence itself can foster rifts from cultural histories with important effects on identities. In these contexts, language and culture may come to stand for each other, as when reclaiming language is considered profoundly important in reclaiming heritage, as Hannah Arendt and Paul Celan have described with German following the Holocaust (Apfelbaum 1997, Felman & Laub 1992).

Being bicultural involves not only a positioning in two cultures but also a positioning in relation to the differences between the cultures. Jessica Benjamin (1998) emphasised how crucial and fraught the recognition of difference in the encounter of two selves is, with the dangers of domination, idealisation or disconnection, in a context in which 'difference' has been constructed as unequal, 'other' or obliterated. She argued that it is the ability of each individual to dis-identify without disconnection, which enables selves to be inclusive and multiple. Translating this into discursive terms, I understand this to mean that it is the ability to resist discursive positions offered in relationship, while staying in relationship, which is crucial. So how does this idea translate for an individual positioned in two cultures, with two different perspectives?

There is lot of interest in trying to conceptualise being bicultural. DiNicola (1997) proposed that those who are positioned in two cultures can be thought of as 'threshold people', necessarily ambiguous and indeterminate, eluding classification, because 'betwixt and between'. Anzaldua (1987) had suggested the notion of border identities. Braidotti (1994) uses the metaphor of the 'nomadic subject', the ability to position oneself 'lightly' in

different cultures, to be able to use one's multiplicities, rather than get caught in divisiveness.

Bhabha (1994, 1996), a cultural theorist, used Bakhtin's notion of hybridity to theorise the interaction between different cultural perspectives within one language.

It is the collision between differing points of view on the world that are embedded in these forms . . . such unconscious hybrids have been at the same time profoundly productive historically; they are pregnant with potential for new world views, with new 'internal forms' for perceiving the world in words.

Bakhtin (1935/1981 p 360)

Bhabha emphasises the tensions in the complicated process of negotiation and re-evaluation between different cultural and political perspectives due to unequal power and polarisations. He argued for the radical subversiveness of hybridity, the ability to elude polarisations, but Loomba (1998) has suggested that his concept of hybridity needs to be made more heterogeneous, and located more specifically.

The strategy of hybridisation may be fraught for the individual positioned in two cultures, but hybridity is also viewed as dangerous. Gilroy (2000) has argued that this is the reason Sarajevo, a city where people had striven for hybridisation, was destroyed during the Bosnian war, a war fought over identity, as much as territory, which devalued indeed tried to obliterate hybridisation. Phoenix & Owen (1996) argued that hybridity was seen similarly in relation to racialisation, tracing the ways in which black-white couples were constructed as problematic, even dangerous, because they challenged binary oppositions of racial construction.

The literature on biculturalism and transculturalism points to some of the challenges of being positioned in two or more cultures in a context in which difference is devalued, and indicates that this is likely to be so for those positioned in two or more languages, who will usually be so.

Positioning in several languages

The ideas from the literature on biculturalism are mirrored in what has been written about those who are positioned in several languages. The translation literature (see the further discussion below) warns of erasing differences between languages, of domesticating the ‘foreign’ (Asad 1986), and reflects the findings of the hazards and costs of assimilation (LaFromboise et al 1993). One man, quoted by Kristeva (1986), said that he spoke Russian in 15 different languages, which I take him to mean that he expunged the differences between Russian and the other languages, that he was unable to accept the ‘foreignness’ of other languages, as Walter Benjamin (1973) put it, which is key to translation, to moving between languages.

Steiner, himself trilingual, argued that the experience of being positioned in more than one language brought awareness of ‘alternities of being’, and challenged ideas of essentialism and homogeneity. “To the many-centred, the very notion of ‘milieu’, of a singular or privileged rootedness, is suspect” (1998a p121/2).

Bakhtin (1981) whose work was grounded in the examination of literary texts and language, developed the idea of ‘heteroglossia’, the intersection of different social languages within one language, to use their dialogic potential. He addressed the struggle involved between authoritarian language, the monologic and diversities of social languages. Bakhtin (1981) acknowledged the complex positioning and tensions involved in

inhabiting several social languages, and that the processes of another social language, someone else's, becoming one's 'own', (or perhaps not), will be informed by the ways individuals are positioned in and through it.

Bakhtin's notion of hybridisation and use of different social languages can readily be applied to speakers of several different languages, and in this research the specificities of hybridisation and the different positionings individuals use and take up in their different languages are explored.

Translation

Because translators are by definition individuals who operate between languages, the literature on translation seemed an important source about the experiences of being positioned in several languages. However, as Grosjean (1982) notes, many of those who speak more than one language are not necessarily good at translating, and it probably needs to be considered a separate skill to the speaking of languages. Paradis (1980) reported cases of aphasics who lost the ability to speak one of their languages but could still translate orally into it.

Some of those who write on translation focus on the effect of unequal power and the hierarchy of languages. Historically, translation had been equated with treason (*traduttore - traditore*) (Edwards 1994). As noted above, Asad (1986) warned that English is submitting less dominant languages to forcible transformation in the translation process. On the other hand, Rajendran (2001) has proposed the concept of 'multilingual English', because it has evolved so differently in different countries, demonstrating that translation itself is not an end point and languages continue to evolve.

The challenge for the translator, as Walter Benjamin put it, was to allow their own language to be powerfully affected by the other language, otherwise translation “ultimately serves the purpose of expressing the central reciprocal relationship between languages” (Benjamin 1970 p 73). Venuti (1995) viewed translation as wielding enormous power in constructing representations of foreign cultures, while simultaneously constructing domestic subjects. It can therefore have either conservative or transgressive effects. On an individual level, as Phillips (2000) suggested in the context of psychotherapy, the experience of ‘being translated’ is of one’s own meaning being ‘stolen’ by someone else’s version of oneself. Kleinman (1987) has argued that for anthropologists, translation is the essence of ethnography, and must be contextual - meanings must be continually verified in the local context. Translation has been conceptualised as a bridge which both unites and marks the separation. “It is, at the same time, double alliance and double infidelity” (Gounaridou 2001).

Translators work with many levels of difference between languages. Clyne (1998) compared English and German academic writing, and postulated that in English, the way knowledge is presented is as important as the content, with writers taking responsibility for readability; while in German, knowledge is idealized and texts are not so easy to read, and writers aim to provide stimulation to thought in less linear ways, with more digressions. Makino (2000) highlighted a difference between English, where there is always a subject in talk, and Japanese, where you often speak without a subject, to protect others from feeling separate or isolated.

Many translators see the process of translation as an "elaborate act of improvisation" (Lockhart 1992). Sands (1998) described the process of translating for music as writing the words which you think would have been written for the music in that language. And while Robert Frost said: “Poetry is what is lost in translation,” Brodsky who translated his own

poetry from Russian to English saw this as re-creation: “Poetry is what is gained in translation” (Jackson 2001). Beckett’s translations of his own work from French, his second language, into English, his first, resulted in his books gaining in complexity. On the other hand, when Abeysekara (2000), a Sri Lankan filmmaker and novelist, attempted to translate his writing from English into his first language, Sinhala, it proved too difficult.

There may however be significant differences between translating as a writer and doing so as a speaker, as relational aspects are foregrounded when the interpreter is present and speech is embodied. Jassim (2001) has discussed what a powerful effect speaking from the 'I' position when interpreting others’ words and meanings, has on him. This is the effect of embodying speech alongside the task of managing the switch between different languages and perspectives.

Translators operate at the ‘in-between’, not only between languages and cultures, but also in the realm of the possibilities of representation. Derrida’s (1978, 1985) position on translation is that it is both possible and impossible, and that translators are working at the limits of the differences between signified and signifier. For this reason, Steiner (1998a) warned of the hazards of working in this in-between space due to facing the limits of language. Translation makes acute and problematises the relationship of language to experience and to the social world.

I am always a foreigner: I ignore the happiness of using language as one does, without thinking, the hand or the eyes. At every phrase I consult the dictionary - you can find real wonders there. And I continue like this throughout the night, striking matches in the dark. (Bianciotti 1990 p4-5 quoted in Amati-Mehler 1993 p195)

But these hazards also entail the potential for creativity. "That very exposure of limits and impossibilities also gives birth to new alternatives in a very gray area which is neither one language nor another, but a silent differing space not delimited by either one" (Gentzler 1993 p168). "It is because it is impossible that translation is so interesting" (Matthews quoted in Jackson 2001). Venuti (1995) argued that translation can create possibilities for cultural resistance, innovation, and change. Simon (1996) concurred with this position, seeing potential in "bad/ incomplete" translations which "open cracks in the usually solid facade of linguistic knowledge, suggesting larger and more troubling thoughts." When translation is rendered visible, as when feminist translators include themselves and their work at the interface between languages and between language and 'experience' into the metatext, this can deconstruct texts in helpful and radical ways (von Flotow 1997).

The potential of using others' words for liberational or subversive purposes has been utilised through translation. This also draws on the multi-voicing technique, using reported speech, enabling things to be said and rendering them difficult to challenge, as when the Robben Island prisoners used Antigone in Fugard's play *The Island*. The Irish poets, Seamus Heaney and Paul Muldoon for example, have translated Horace to address issues of the troubles in Ireland (Paulin 2002).

Mistranslations, on the other hand, can create difficulties, and occur most when it is assumed that translations are possible and straightforward. There has been debate in the psychoanalytic field about the effects of inaccurate translations of Freud's work and its long lasting effects on the conceptualisation of subjectivity (Steiner 2001). Some writers have used the metaphor of translation for all communication, and indeed argue that interchanges within one language may be even more fraught because these difficulties are not explicit (Di Nicola 1998, Steiner 1998a).

The literature on translation stresses how it is both possible and impossible to translate between languages, and highlights ways in which the process of translation can replicate

power relationships. Some of the literature points to the hazards of being positioned between languages because of the experience of the limits of language and representation, but this, it suggests is also where its creativity and radical potential lay. Although the translation literature deals mostly with writing, it is likely that speakers of several languages experience similar quandaries in relation to how they position themselves between their languages and manage their differences.

Language and power

Those who seek to oppress, exclude and humiliate often use language to do so because of its power. Butler (1997) has examined the ways abusive and racist language can injure and have material effects. She proposed that hate speech called into question linguistic survival. Attempting to destroy a language has been a common form of oppressiveness. Deane (1998) argued that the loss and mutilation of the Irish language, leaving the Irish people only with English, the language of the invader, has meant they have never been able to find the 'in between'.

A common form of 'de-authorising' individuals is to change their names, which has often happened at an individual or group level in a new language. Turkish speakers in Bulgaria, were forced to change their names to Bulgarian ones in 1985, and many chose to go to jail, suffered beatings or went into exile to avoid doing this. Some who submitted to this change experienced this as such a loss of selfhood that they ended up committing suicide (Hoffman 1993). Modood et al (1994) have argued that the strategy of denying significant aspects of oneself, such as those signified by one's name, "is perhaps the tragedy of the immigrant experience in the West" (1994 p166).

In turn, language can be used as an instrument of resistance if deployed to force change. Children with several languages often develop strategies to challenge racisms through the strategic use of their first language, ways to be subversive which give protection from immediate understanding. The ability to deliver insults through disguising one's tone of voice in another language is a common strategy. Reclaiming or subverting language can also be used for resistance and challenge. "To move outside of the domain of speakability is to risk one's status as a subject" and yet the naming of the unspeakable, the resignification of speech through the opening of new contexts can legitimate new forms (Butler 1997 p 133). Translation offers many opportunities to subvert and to create alternative meanings.

Issues of power and language are, as noted in the Introduction to this thesis, key to the experiences of speaking minoritised languages in the context of Britain.

Gender, language and culture

Burton (1994) has pointed out that, on the whole, gender difference had been ignored in the literature on 'bilingualism'. However there has been much work carried out in the area of language and gender so I look at some literature that pertains to ways in which gender may be of significance in living in several languages.

Women are theorised as symbols of the nation, of the collectivity (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1992) and may therefore be considered keepers of the language, where language is signified as carrying identity. Expectations are often placed on women who migrate with their families as 'guardians of culture', to be the 'culture-carriers', to ensure that children continue to speak their first language, value and stay connected to cultural beliefs (Lau 1995). The concept of 'mother tongue', already mentioned earlier, is constitutive of

women's role in passing on language to their children. Because women are signified as guardians of language, they are also blamed for 'language deaths' (Constantinidou 1994).

The widespread and commonly held belief that women are 'good at languages' may have stemmed from their development of language skills in circumstances of unequal power.

Historically excluded from learning opportunities, they simultaneously needed to develop a good knowledge of the language of dominance to survive. Languages in multilingual contexts are often used for rhetorical and strategic purposes. Spedding (1994) found that women in the Chulamani sector of Sud Yungas province in Bolivia, preferred to use Aymara, an Andean language, rather than Castilian Spanish which is of higher status, because it was associated with their political equality in the context of work. By feigning ignorance of Castilian they could subvert monolingual officials' harassment, thus challenging gendered inequalities.

In multilingual contexts, different languages become associated with different domains and values. Burton (1994) has pointed out that second language acquisition and use and its perception are affected by the status of the speakers. Speaking a second language is often tied to employment, such as teaching and interpreting which are constructed as female.

One common construction of bilingual women in colonial periods, was as mediators between cultures, through sex and language (Tonkin 1994). In Britain learning languages has been regarded as conventionally 'female', a recursive connection and construction, with very few male teachers teaching languages at schools and many fewer boys than girls learning them (Nuffield Language Inquiry 2000). Speaking languages other than English have therefore become associated with women and immigrants.

Developmental research points to important gendered differences in language acquisition and in children's relationship to language, although the meanings of these findings are

disputed (Berko & Ely 2001). Because infants' language development occurs through their relationships with adults, constructions of gender and language and contextual factors impact on these interactions. For example, mothers have been found generally to talk more to girl babies and engage more in physical interaction with boys (Olivier 1989), a finding significantly linked with those of girls becoming more fluent earlier, and talking to each other more than boys.

Gendered differences may come into play when families move into a new language and culture, which will also be informed by different gendered expectations of peer relationships, with different emphases placed on ways of communicating. Research carried out with Arab adolescents in Canada highlighted such gender differences as young women declaring integrative attitudes and young men instrumental ones to learning English (Abu-Rabia 1995). What these students may have been demonstrating is 'doing gender'. When women learn the language of the new culture, they may find ways to position themselves in new ways to open up different and less restricted opportunities, while their male partners struggle to maintain traditional roles which don't fit easily with the new context. This is particularly the case when men's self definition has centred on their employment, and opportunities for work are extremely constrained. Women may also be kept out of the new culture and language. The different positionings in the new language and culture, in combination with ideas about women's relationships to first language, can create dilemmas for individuals and family relationships.

The fact that so little attention has been paid to gender in the literature on 'bilingualism' means that it would be particularly fruitful to examine gendered experiences of living in several languages. This is particularly the case, as the literature I have referred to above indicates that there will be differential dilemmas and issues facing women and men.

Summary

Although many linguists had traditionally ignored contextual factors and meanings of language use, cultural theorists and critical and sociolinguists have drawn attention to the importance of power and context. The literature reviewed here demonstrated that language can be used to denote identity at an individual and group level. Language can come to signify national or cultural identity when a country or community has been threatened with dispossession or in a postcolonial period when a country is reconstituting itself. Language is used as a signifier in the construction of racialised identities and ethnicities, as well as cultural identities and class identities. Individuals and groups can make claims of identity and are defined through their language choice.

The literature I have reviewed above on biculturalism pointed to the challenges of being positioned in two or more cultures when there are unequal power relationships, and these are reflected in an individual's language speaking. Unequal power relationships between languages will impact on individuals' positioning in and between them, with the potential of replicating colonisation and disqualification or creating something innovative. Making translation and the translator visible can help to deconstruct these processes, and also reveals the limits of language. The literature suggests that there are hazards of operating between different languages but that there is also radical potential of working between several languages.

The abuses involved in preventing people from using one or more of their languages and the resistances and subversions against such abusiveness are also crucial aspects of language use. In a context such as Britain where languages other than English are

devalued, it should be pertinent to track how languages may be used for resistance and subversion.

The literature on gender and language highlighted the construction of the centrality of women to the preservation of language and culture. At the same time speaking other languages, because associated with women, and with minority status, is devalued. This literature indicates that there will be significant gendered differences in the experiences of living life in several languages which would benefit from examination.

It follows from the review in this chapter that an exploration of the meanings individuals give to their languages, and take from their languages, is highly relevant, which is what my study has set out to do. The question of how subjective meanings are constructed from culture, what Hall (1996) has called the suture between subjectivity and language remains under-theorised. An examination of how languages are used to make political and personal claims of identity will be pertinent. The effect of power relationships between languages and how individuals position themselves in relation to the differences of their languages will be useful to explore from their own perspectives. Examining gendered differences is important because of the lack of attention paid to this aspect of living in several languages.

Chapter 3 - LANGUAGE AND FAMILY THERAPY

As I have highlighted through the review of the literature in the previous chapter, speaking several languages has significant implications for individuals' sense of subjectivity and their identity construction at several different levels. Ideas from narrative theory and discursive psychology indicate that individuals' languages offer a multiplicity of discursive resources and provide challenges of managing diversities and contradictions in the face of demands for coherence. Contextual factors, in particular unequal power relationships and social struggle, ascribe meanings to languages as signifiers in the construction of racialised identities, ethnicities, cultural identities and class identities, and through which individuals make personal and political claims of identity. Individuals' positioning in their languages and what they make of these are informed by these different levels of meaning, and are pertinent to family relationships and therefore to family therapy.

As noted earlier, despite its focus on family relationships in relation to the wider context, and its concern with language and narrative, family therapy has been extremely neglectful of these issues. In this chapter I review the work in the systemic psychotherapy field which has a bearing on the issues of speaking several languages. I identify the areas, which need to be developed, and the absences and gaps, which my own research addresses. First I review the work in the field generally, and then focus on writings concerning families who have migrated, as this is where most attention has been paid to language speaking. I go on to examine the little work that has flagged up questions around the use of first and second languages in therapy, for families as well as for therapists.

Despite the attention given to language and narrative within the family therapy field (cf Andersen 1987, Anderson & Goolishian 1988, Epston & White 1992, White & Epston 1990) only a couple of family therapy articles have explicitly explored 'bilingualism' (eg Sluzki 1983, de Zulueta 1990). This neglect was connected to a considerable slowness in the field to address issues of racism and cultural diversity. Only in the last few years has this really begun to be redressed (eg Boyd-Franklin 1989, Burnham & Harris 1996, Confetti Race and Culture Working Party 1999, Di Nicola 1997, Falicov 1983, 1995, 1998, Krause 1995, 1998, Lau 1984, 1991, McGoldrick 1998, Tamasese & Waldegrave 1993). The field has begun to look critically at family therapy theory and unpack its underlying assumptions. Work in the area of self reflexivity has been central, with family therapists identifying the personal and professional assumptions they bring to their work, in relation to their own ethnicities, racialised and cultural identities (Hardy and Laszloffy 1994). As Krause (1998) has argued, many family therapy concepts have not been validated in different cultures and would benefit from deconstruction and rethinking in other cultural contexts.

Language issues have mainly been addressed in relation to the importance of being able to offer therapy in a family's first language and the issues of working with interpreters (Dwivedi 1996, Raval 1996, 2000). Therapists have been concerned about the difficulty for family members struggling to articulate concerns in their second language (Dwivedi 1996, Lau 1984, 1991, Raval 1996). In a crisis, speaking in one's first language can engender a sense of familiarity and an expectation of being understood which helps create a state of mind with which an individual can start to process difficult events (Vroom personal communication). The problem of therapists becoming aligned with family members who are most fluent in English and most in favour of adapting to the dominant culture has been

raised. Family therapists have wanted to avoid using children as interpreters for their parents in therapy sessions. However, despite the ideological commitment to the idea of working with interpreters, Raval (2000) found that many therapists felt discomfited by the processes involved in doing therapy through an interpreter, felt deskilled and offered behavioural rather than meaning based interventions. Few therapists have had training in working with interpreters, which must have significantly affected Raval's findings. Di Nicola (1997) for example, has demonstrated that there are creative ways to use translation in therapy to open spaces or change pace.

Migration

For families who have a history of migration, language issues may be conflated with migration processes. This is an area in which family therapists have written. The circumstances, chosen or forced, under which families migrate have been found to have a powerful impact, as do the political, cultural and economic power relations in which families become embedded in the new context. Some individuals and families have experienced forced exile following traumatic experiences of war, political persecution, torture or famine. Others have migrated because of less severe circumstances, with varying degrees of need, such as economic survival. Some families have moved through choice, although as Falicov (1998) has pointed out, there may well be differential experiences within families, with some family members being 'coaxed exiles'.

Family members may vary in how they position themselves or are positioned in the new country, and how they relate to their country of origin, and these processes are shaped by the responses of the receiving country, where families often face racism and discrimination. Individuals and families who have moved cultures and countries, those with 'diasporic identities', with identifications across contexts, most challenge traditional

notions of cultural identity, (Bhabha 1996, Bottomley 1992, Brah 1996, Chamberlain 1997, Turner 1991), and this often influences responses to them.

Migration, like revolution, is the making and the unmaking of the social, not something which happens within it. (Bull 2001 p24)

Sluzki (1979) formulated some of the dilemmas families encounter in the process of migration in his therapeutic work as a family therapist. These have been further elaborated in the context of work with refugees who had moved because of war or political terror (Papadopoulos & Hildebrand 1997, Sveaass & Reichelt 2001, Woodcock 2001). Migration itself is a transformational process, involving a change of physical environment, of sounds, and smells, the loss of the anchoring of memory to place, and the loss of relationship networks, and context. This process is very much interlinked with ideas of 'home' (Falicov 1998, Papadopoulos & Hildebrand 1997). Such processes are mediated through the construction of the narratives of migration. In her study of migration from Barbados, Chamberlain (1997) pointed out that migration could be signified differentially through family and community narratives. Migration could be narrated and lived as resistance to oppressive conditions, as independence, as opportunity, and / or as absence, with significant gendered differences in these narratives. In the therapeutic work with families, it has been argued that it is crucial for therapists to think trans-contextually, to explore how individuals maintain relationships over distance and time (Turner 1991), to include those significant people left behind (Falicov 1998) and to explore what meanings have been constructed, such as the narratives of return (Falicov 1998).

Notions of home and narratives of belonging are important features of self-narratives. Concepts of 'home' may be hegemonic and ideologic, as the use of "Mother England" was in British colonisation (Chamberlain 1997). The development of notions of 'home' for

those who migrate, pose significant challenges to dominant discourses of rootedness and fixed origins (Brah 1996). Other notions include the conceptualisation of home as a remembered space (Chamberlain 1997), of being at home in writing (Said 1998), or being at home in many different places (Braidotti 1994). Kevan (1997) proposed that in the absence of home, individuals often seek a 'transitional object'. However, those who have been exiled and excluded from collective narratives of belonging may long for a place, a spot to call home, and a sense of identity with which this seems connected (Alibhai-Brown 1997, Falicov 1995).

Migration involves contradictory processes of change, of opportunities and loss. Falicov (2002) has described the dilemmas of migration in terms of 'ambiguous loss', with families needing to find ways to balance physical absence and psychological presence, physical presence and psychological absence. Absent relationships can perturb present ones. Family members can sometimes take different positions and become easily polarised between the generations. Tensions about how to connect the different cultures and different languages can be played out within the family, as well as between the family and the community in which they are residing, with different worldviews leading to intense embattlements. These are often the families who present with concerns to a family therapist. Not surprisingly, in the face of the possibilities of polarisations, flexibility in the ways families manage these cultural differences and their multiplicities has been found to link with resilience (Falicov 1998, 2002).

But what is the place of language in these processes? Children and adults often engage with a new language differently (Grinberg & Grinberg 1989), and children often learn the dominant language faster than their parents (Burck 1997, Papadopoulos & Hildebrand 1997). Many adults find it harder to try out the new language in the environment (Grinberg & Grinberg 1989), and the methods used to learn are more formal than initial language

learning processes. Commonly reported experiences of children translating for parents in adult matters can be difficult for both generations (Papadopoulos & Hildebrand 1997). Individuals' attachment to their first language has been found to change on moving to another context, and indeed is often highlighted for the first time (Grinberg & Grinberg 1989). With the loss of place, and the loss of at least some of their relationship network, individuals sometimes consider their language as a home.

Many of the dilemmas and processes involved in migration for individuals and families will be reflected in issues around language speaking and use. The ways in which different family members consider their first languages and the new language will be interconnected with questions of identity, and loyalty. Paying particular attention to the issues of language speaking, which have on the whole been sidelined in this work, could perhaps illuminate aspects of migration processes differently.

Use of first and second languages in therapy

Psychoanalysis has also been slow to take on issues of language as Amati-Mehler and her colleagues (1993) underline, given that the foundations of psychoanalysis were laid in a multilingual context. Most of the early psychoanalysts were polylingual and polycultural but never examined this explicitly in their own lives or in their work. (Two of Freud's most famous patients, Anna O and the Wolf Man were multilingual.) However Greenson (1950) and Buxbaum (1949) argued that psychotherapy in a patient's second language would miss important emotional experiences, and that second languages provided resistance to treatment because they operated at an intellectual level. Marcos & Alpert (1976) agreed with this view, particularly if individuals had learned their languages in separate contexts. If both languages are used, they thought the patient would use language switching as a form of resistance to affectively charged material. Pérez Foster (1992, 1996a, 1996b)

proposed that bilingual individuals operate with two different lingual codes, with different cognitive, affective and intersubjective meanings. She argued that the use of a first language could tap into crucial relational processes not accessible in second languages. Amati-Mehler and her colleagues (1993) warned that second languages are used by some individuals for splitting, “for the mutilation of the internal world of the self”, although they also believed that a new language sometimes represented a ‘life-saving anchor’ for an individual. Thomas (1995, 2001) highlighted the need to pay attention to the effects of colonisation and of using the colonisers’ language in psychodynamic therapeutic work with individual patients, arguing that many psychoanalytically trained psychotherapists ignored contexts of racisms. He drew attention to the importance of exploring the meaning of languages for individuals, and argued that therapists needed to develop their awareness of the struggles involved in challenging processes of colonisation.

Some family therapists have recently addressed ways in which therapists and families might use several languages within therapeutic sessions. Di Nicola (1998) proposed that therapists and families could use code-switching to help map aspects of family processes. For Falicov (1998) the use of several languages in family therapy sessions relates to setting a context in which multiple possibilities could be entertained, without a need for decisions, and was particularly useful when families who had migrated were divided about staying or returning, often signified through their language speaking. Similarly, Sluzki (1983) has described therapy with several families in two languages, through which it had been possible to address a child’s elective mutism as a solution to a conflict of loyalties between languages and countries.

Families, who come for help about one of their children, have sometimes revealed dilemmas that have arisen when parents have different first languages (Burck 1997).

Families who have migrated often present struggles around their children’s greater fluency

in the dominant language and culture, and the parents' fears that they are jettisoning important aspects of their first language and culture. I could identify no literature in the field concerning the impact of the choice of language on parenting and family relationships.

In contrast to the psychoanalytic view that second languages may be used to avoid crucial issues in therapy, there are indications that second languages can be extremely helpful in the therapeutic project. Some individuals and families have reported that they could only have sought therapeutic help in their second language, related to being able to bypass familial premises around not seeking help, by doing this in a different language (Burck 1997). Second languages can also enable individuals to say things not possible in their first (Makino 2000, Tesone 1996). The potential of a second language was used in an experimental treatment of schizophrenic patients who were taught a new language in order to explore experiences not possible in their first language, which led to improvements in their relationships and the ways in which they could conduct their lives (Simpson 1978 in Di Nicola 1998). These findings may relate to those reported by de Zulueta (1990) of individuals who were psychotic in one language but coherent in another, and indicate that therapeutic use could possibly be made of this difference. However there has been little work in this area. Enabling family members to experiment with using their different languages has also been found to disrupt unhelpful patterns of relating, and to generate different meanings (Burck 1997).

Exploration of language use can reveal unexpected effects and issues. Smith (personal communication) for example, found that 'bilingual' men convicted of rape in Britain, reported that they spoke English while committing rape and believed they would not be able to commit rape speaking their first language. This points to the power of language in

enabling and limiting identities and performances, and which would benefit from attention in therapy.

Narrative approaches in family therapy

As discussed in Chapter 2, ideas of narrative construction and discursive practices are pertinent to consider for individuals who speak more than one language, in relation to the different resources available in their languages, and the ways they are positioned in the dominant culture. The attention paid to dominant and subjugated discourses (Foucault 1980) in the narrative approaches in family therapy (White & Epston 1990, White 1995) indicate their considerable potential in addressing issues of language speaking and power explicitly with family members, if therapists became more aware of their importance.

Therapists who speak several languages

There are also therapists who speak several languages, and issues of language speaking have been even less addressed for them. Amati-Mehler (1993), who was brought up speaking four languages and learned a fifth, Italian, for her psychoanalytic training, reported that she responds internally in all of her languages to her patients' talk, connecting all these responses and translating them into Italian. She has argued that this has made it easier to work with children and those patients having psychotic episodes. She views her multilingualism as enabling her to generate multiple perspectives which make her more 'available' in therapy. It would be extremely fruitful to pursue the implications of speaking several languages for therapists which could enable them to make use of these in explicit ways.

Summary

As I have discussed in this chapter, the family therapy literature has almost completely neglected the experiences of those who live their lives in several languages, except in relation to work with interpreters, and where language issues overlap with migration processes and histories. The literature on migration has indicated that family members often become positioned differently in relation to their languages, reflecting the tensions of loyalty, of loss and of change.

The ways families manage their living in more than one language can reflect, as well as impinge on family difficulties, but language speaking has not usually been the focus in therapy. This is puzzling as the development of narrative approaches in family therapy with their attention to language and power, to discourse use and narrative construction, seem particularly suited to explorations of language speaking.

Although there is very little literature available, there are indications that first and second languages have very different effects on the process of therapy. The literature indicates that there is considerable potential in exploring the use of first and subsequent languages for individuals and their relationships. It is incumbent on the family therapy field to be better informed about these processes, in order to be able to make therapeutic use of these.

The thesis has set out to do so with the aim of generating ideas about language use for therapeutic possibilities. My research explores the meanings individuals give to their languages and how they construct themselves and their relationships in their different languages. These questions address some of the gaps I have identified in this chapter and aim to inform the systemic psychotherapy field concerning pertinent issues involved in being a speaker of several languages.

Chapter 4 – METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter, I sum up the implications of the literature reviewed in Chapters 1, 2 and 3 to set the context for the research study. I formulate my research questions and discuss the ways in which I have set out to explore these. I locate the research project within a social constructionist framework and describe and discuss my choice of research data - autobiographies and research interviews. The descriptions of the autobiographical writers and the research participants are included here. I consider the ethical issues involved in this research project. To outline how I made my methodological decisions, I discuss various methods of analysis, a grounded theory approach, narrative analysis and discourse analysis, which I applied to the research data and how they informed my choice.

I have shown that much of the research into bilingualism within the various branches of linguistics, had traditionally concentrated on individual ‘language competence’, rather than ‘language use’, and had been permeated by monolingual norms. Western linguistics had on the whole negatively connoted the experience of the majority of the world’s population who speak more than one language, and contributed to the difficulties of sustaining the speaking of minoritised languages in countries such as Britain. There is considerable concern recently about the growing loss of languages in the world and all this entails. The continued negativity associated with ‘bilingualism’, despite challenges to this by research in the last two decades, itself provides a rationale for researching an undervalued and often disqualified aspect of living.

Some of the research studies that sought to elaborate the effects of bilingualism indicate that speaking several languages in supportive circumstances give individuals greater flexibility of thought and provide them with more interactional resources than monolinguals. Such findings have been little pursued and research has only recently sought

to include individuals' own accounts of their experience in and of their languages, having previously considered it more appropriate to analyse their language use than ask individuals to reflect on it. The few studies interviewing speakers themselves indicate their fruitfulness to examine meanings and identities.

The literature I have reviewed concerning subjectivity, self and identity, suggests that living in several languages has important effects on the construction of subjectivity and identity. Work in the area of narrative theory indicates that individuals construct different narratives of self in their different linguistic and cultural contexts. Studies in a number of different areas found striking differences when individuals spoke different languages, but often did not pursue the implications of such differences. Some writings on identity construction address the tensions experienced by individuals in relation to experiences of multiplicity because of demands for narrative coherence, but much of this writing is theoretical. My research study of individuals' accounts of their diverse experiences in several languages therefore offers a different perspective to contribute to this theorisation of 'multiple subjectivity'.

The ideas I discussed in the area of language and social and political struggles refer to ways in which language speaking is given meaning. Such meanings are related to power relationships and institutionalised practices, within which individuals are embedded.

Some literature identifies how language speaking is used as a signifier in the construction of racialised identities, ethnicities and cultural identities. Notions of positioning within a language have also been linked to racialised identity and ethnicity. Recent research studies into language use demonstrate how language choice and language switching are used to claim personal and political identities. The literature on translation, language and power address unequal relationships between languages, and between speakers. Individuals can replicate the unequal power relationships between their languages or find ways to resist

these in various ways. The hazards and difficulties of operating between languages identified in the translation literature indicate that those who live in several language face similar challenges.

The work on gender and language, and in particular, the ways in which women are constructed as the guardians of culture and language, points toward likely gendered differences of living in several languages, and yet, there is a significant absence as gender differences have rarely been examined in research on 'bilingualism'. This gap in the literature suggests the importance of critically examining women and men's relationship to their languages.

A review of the family therapy literature reveals an absence of attention to the importance of living in several languages and its relevance for family therapy, other than subsumed in the work with immigrants or refugees. The literature from other fields, as discussed above, demonstrates that issues of language speaking in relation to individuals' different experiences, values and identifications in their different languages are likely to be highly significant for systemic psychotherapists. Questions of what effect speaking several languages has on family relationships are also highly relevant. An exploration of living life in several languages can therefore contribute important ideas about family and therapy processes.

I have made a case for the importance of carrying out further research in 'bilingualism' in a way which is not permeated by monolingual norms or focused on 'language competence' as many of the early research studies have been. The recent focus in research on 'language use' has proved productive and has highlighted a number of pertinent dimensions to the speaking of several languages which call for further exploration. Studies which have sought individual speakers' perspectives on their language use, indicate the fruitfulness of

such explorations. Asking individuals themselves to reflect on their language use and its effects is therefore timely and pertinent.

The use of insider accounts of the issues involved in speaking several languages offers a significant perspective on language use. It allows an analysis of the meanings of speaking languages constructed in family relationships and through social struggle. Insider accounts also encapsulate questions of subjectivity, and offer the opportunity of analysing the place of language speaking in individuals' constructions of self.

Research Questions

This study uses insider accounts and I have formulated exploratory questions that stem directly from my consideration of the literature, both those areas which merit further attention and the absences I have identified. In order to encapsulate the different levels of meaning of language speaking and the diversity of individuals' experiences and circumstances, my questions are broadly formulated in order to elicit individuals' meaning making and to allow an analysis of their constructions of self.

How do individuals construct their experiences of living life in several languages?

What meanings are given to speaking more than one language and what relational issues arise?

The territory that I have set out to explore, identified through the literature review, has included the circumstances in which individuals learned and spoke their languages, a mapping of where and how they used their languages, and their beliefs and perceptions of

the effects of speaking several languages. I have aimed to examine the differences their different languages made to individuals from their point of view.

Setting up the research

Epistemology and Research Framework

This is a qualitative research study of insider accounts - individuals' descriptions of their experiences of their use of several languages. To focus on the meanings individuals themselves construct, I have chosen to use two different data sources. First I have analysed autobiographies of writers who lived in several languages and who addressed the issues involved, because these are significant, pressing even, and evocative. Second, I have conducted research interviews with individuals who live their lives in several languages

This study is situated within a social constructionist paradigm in how it views the research data (Lincoln & Guba 1994). It draws on the proposal that our ways of knowing are negotiated through social interactions over time, and in relation to social structures, contexts and resources which support or suppress these (Shotter 1993).

There are particular challenges involved in researching individuals' descriptions of their experiences. The analysis of such accounts is concerned with questions regarding memory and what talk does and can accomplish. Social constructionist and discursive frameworks (Gergen 1985, Potter & Wetherell 1987, Wetherell et al 2001) have been helpful here in theorising the way experiences have been constructed. The research accounts and the autobiographies are considered to be constructions, not transparent accounts of what individuals have 'really' experienced, but productions in the context of the literary genre of autobiography and the social science research interview. The autobiographies and some of

the interviews are also constructions of childhood and adolescence (James & Prout 1990). Following Bruner (1986) and the literature on narrative theory reviewed in Chapter 2, I take the view that we continually construct and reconstruct our memories, from our present perspective, and in the light of our ideas about the future, in our interactions with others, and that not all our experience is storied. As discussed in the literature review, the genres of narrative privileged in our social contexts shape the construction of our memories (Hall 1987, Ricoeur 1985). In these processes of construction, in our interactions with others, affect, which is itself constructed through interaction (Harré 1986), is also significant (Beebe & Lachman 2002).

Autobiographies

A focus on the construction of narratives of identity and individuals' meaning-making processes led to the inclusion of autobiographies as research data. It was an autobiographical book, Eva Hoffman's (1989) Lost in Translation, which triggered the beginning of this research project, in highlighting the complexities of moving from one language and culture to another. It resonated with personal experiences I had never reflected on, crystallising my personal, intellectual and professional curiosity about that neglect. Other autobiographies that have concerned the issues of living in several cultures and languages have been published in the last few years and indicate an increasing preoccupation with these themes.

The growing field of auto/biographical studies testify to the use of autobiographies within various forms of qualitative research, to explore individuals' own perspectives in their social context (Clandinin & Connelly 1994, Roberts 2001). Autobiographies are narratives of identity, par excellence, and therefore particularly suited for an examination of identity construction. They are a different kind of self-account to those produced in a research

interview, involving a different process of constructing a life. They exist in a very public domain, the writing of private stories constructed to be relevant to a wider audience and a common cultural practice. They are considered accounts, reflected upon and re-shaped with a particular audience in mind and influenced by the conventions of autobiographical writing. Authors use selections of lived events to highlight particular versions of themselves, re-worked to produce a 'written self' (Chamberlain & Thompson 1998) and to produce particular claims. Written texts allow authors to reflect on the account produced, as well to consider explicitly their methods of expression. Autobiographies are increasingly used in research to investigate questions concerning personal and communal narratives, how they work and what they achieve (Egan & Helms 2002).

I have chosen to analyse five autobiographies for the research. These five authors dealt with issues of having lived their childhood in two languages and cultures and are similar to half of my research group in this respect, (the other half of my sample moved languages/cultures in their late adolescence or adulthood). All of the memoirs are concerned with issues of language in the context of moving countries, and they are a heterogeneous group to allow an examination of variability in the storying of experience. The autobiographies are the following:

Heading South, Looking North. A Bilingual Journey by Ariel Dorfman (1998)

True to Both My Selves by Katrin Fitzherbert (1997)

Lost in Translation: A Life in a New Language by Eva Hoffman (1989)

Out of Place. A Memoir by Edward Said (1999)

The Factory of Facts by Luc Sante (1998)

Table A provides the authors' cultural and racialised identity positions, their languages and the circumstances in which they learned to speak these languages.

Table A – Autobiographies

Name	M/ F	1 st language	Culture & ‘race’	Languages in childhood	Change language/ culture	Voluntary/ forced migration
Ariel Dorfman	M	Spanish	Argentinean Jewish white	Spanish/ English	Move to USA age 3, move to Chile 13, & exiled age 25, move to US	Forced
Katrin Fitzherbert	F	German	German white	German/ English	Move to Britain age 10	Voluntary
Eva Hoffman	F	Polish	Polish Jewish white	Polish/ English	Move to Canada age 13	Voluntary unable to return
Edward Said	M	Arabic/ English	Palestinian	Arabic/ English in Egypt	Move to USA age 16	Exiled & Voluntary
Luc Sante	M	French	Belgian white	French/ Walloon/ English	Move to USA age 5	Voluntary

I discuss the analysis of the autobiographies in chapter 6.

Conducting the research interviews

I chose to conduct semi-structured interviews with individuals, to enable me to cover the different dimensions of living in several languages that I had identified from the literature and from the autobiographies (see Appendix A for the interview format). This interviewing format meant that I, as the researcher, set the agenda and introduced the areas which I wanted to explore, although I followed participants’ feedback in idiosyncratic ways to explore issues unique to them, and to elicit and unpack multiple and contradictory perspectives. Like Squire (2000), I was keen not to have individuals feel that they needed to present a story of self as a coherent autobiography. At the end of each interview I asked

research participants about any absences or areas they thought I should inquire about, in order to try to open up issues outside my own imagination.

My research interviewing is informed by my work as a systemic psychotherapist. I am experienced at interviewing individuals using 'reflexive' and 'circular' questions, which enable inquiry and exploration of connections at different levels and in relation to different contexts (Tomm 1987, 1988). A 'circular question' is one formulated by the interviewer to follow feedback, using the answer given to the previous question to explore connections to it. 'Reflexive questions' are those which enable individuals to reflect on themselves in the context of different levels of meaning, as well as reflect on the relationships between levels of meaning. Following Cecchin (1987) and Tomm (1987, 1988) I consider questions as 'interventive' – research questions provoke individuals to make connections and to construct things in new ways.

This research project explored aspects of individuals' lives not much previously reflected on, and there were many moments during the interviews when individuals made new connections. This evident generation of new perspectives by individuals highlighted further the status of the interview material as constructed in the context of the research interview, and the need to consider the relationship between the research participants and myself, the researcher (Jorgenson 1991, Fine 1994, Wilkinson & Kitzinger 1996). My introduction of myself as the researcher and the rationale of the research question included positioning myself personally and politically, presenting myself as someone who had herself grown up speaking several languages, my awareness of how little attention had been paid in Britain to languages other than English, and my wish to redress this absence. As someone who spoke several languages, I was similar to the research participants, but otherwise there was considerable variability in my positioning as similar or different to those I interviewed, with regard to culture, class, 'race', ethnicity, gender, age, sexual

orientation, and circumstances of learning languages. I knew some of the research participants in a different capacity and some were unknown to me. I have attempted to maintain an awareness of the dilemmas of 'representing the other' in relation to difference (Fine 1994, Wilkinson & Kitzinger 1996) and of making assumptions around similarities. I discuss this further in chapter 4 on Self-reflexivity.

Research participants

It was remarkably easy to recruit individuals through word-of-mouth and a snow-balling method. Individuals volunteered themselves, their family members and their friends as research participants, and long after I had stopped interviewing, individuals continued to approach me. This considerable interest has confirmed an idea that many individuals have not had opportunities previously to explore this aspect of their lives, and that it is significant to them. It is also possible that exploring issues of speaking several languages is an attractive invitation – to be able to talk about the self in an area which is not contentious and although negatively connoted is not stigmatised, and which is, on the whole, neglected and ignored in Britain.

My research participants were 24 individuals aged between 19 and 58, who lived in Britain currently. Half the research participants had grown up speaking several languages (as the autobiographical writers had), and half had moved to live in a different language and culture when adolescent or older. This allowed consideration of differential experiences of childhoods and adulthoods lived in several languages. Individuals had learned their languages in a range of different circumstances to make possible a consideration of contextual influences on the meanings of language speaking. They were a heterogeneous group of individuals, from different cultures and languages, and with different racialised identity positions and ethnicities, to allow an examination of the ways in which language

speaking intersected with processes of identity construction. Twelve were women and twelve were men, to enable gendered differences to be identified. Table B is a chart of the research participants, their gender, their languages, and the circumstances in which they acquired these. It shows whether they are/were in cross-language or same-language partnerships, and in what languages they had chosen to parent, if they had children. All research participants have been given pseudonyms.

Table B – Research Participants

Name	M / F	1 st language	Culture & 'race'	Languages in childhood	Change Language / culture as young adult	Forced/ Voluntary migration	Parent in 1 st /childhood language	Parent in English	Cross-lang partner
Angela	F	Sicilian Albanian Italian	Sicilian white	Sicilian Albanian Italian English in Britain	No		No	Yes	Yes
Bernard	M	French	French white	One	Yes	Voluntary as young adult	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cato	M	Hungarian	Hungarian white	Hungarian/ English	No	Forced Refugee age 7	No	Yes	Yes
Di-Yin	F	Shanghai dialect/ Mandarin/ rural dialect	Chinese	Shanghai dialect/ Mandarin/ rural dialect	Yes	Voluntary as young adult	Yes	Yes	Yes
Estelle	F	French	French white	One	Yes	Voluntary as young adult	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ffionn	F	Welsh	Welsh white	Welsh/ English in Wales	Yes	Voluntary as young adult	Yes	No	Yes
Gustav	M	Czech	Czech white	One	Yes	Exile Age 19 Unable to return	No	Yes	Yes
Henka	F	Polish	Polish white	One	Yes	Voluntary as young adult	N/A	N/A	Yes
Ihsan	M	Farsi	Iranian	One	Yes	Voluntary unable to return	Yes	Yes	Yes
Justine	F	Dutch/ English	Dutch/ American/ British white	Dutch/ English in Britain	No		N/A	N/A	Yes
Konrad	M	Polish	Polish white	Polish/ English in Britain	No		N/A	N/A	Yes

Name	M / F	1 st language	Culture & 'race'	Languages In childhood	Change language / culture as young adult	Forced / Voluntary Migration	Parent in 1 st /childhood language	Parent In English	Cross-Lang partner
Lena	F	Serbo-Croat	Yugoslav white	Serbo-Croat Slovenian Macedonian	Yes in 40s	Escape from war	Yes	No	No
Maria	F	Spanish	Columbian white	One	Yes	Voluntary	Yes	Yes	Yes
Naadir	M	Arabic	Iraqi	One	Yes	Voluntary Unable to return	Yes	Yes	No
Onno	M	Afrikaans	Afrikaaner South African white	One	Yes	Voluntary	N/A	N/A	No
Petiri	M	Shona	Zimbabwean black	Shona, English, Nbele, Afrikaans	Yes	Escape from draft into colonial army	Yes	Yes	Yes
Quinlan	F	Cantonese	Chinese	Cantonese, Dialect, English	No	Voluntary age 5	N/A	N/A	Yes
Renata	F	Hungarian	Hungarian white	Hungarian German	Yes	Forced refugee age 8 & voluntary	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sonja	F	Swedish	Swedish white	One	Yes	Voluntary	Yes	Yes	Yes
Therese	F	Flemish	Belgian white	Flemish Dialect French in Belgium	Yes	Voluntary	No	Yes	Yes
Ursula	F	German	German white	One	Yes	Voluntary	Yes	Yes	Yes
Venjamin	M	Arabic	Iraqi Jew	Arabic Hebrew left Iraq, 5 to Israel	Yes	Forced age 5 & Voluntary	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wasan	M	Gujerati	Kenyan Asian	Gujerati Hindi English Moved age 3, 5, btwn India/Kenya Age 7 to Britain	No	Voluntary	N/A	N/A	Yes
Xandra	F	Afrikaans	Afrikaaner South Africa white	One	Yes	Voluntary	N/A	N/A	No

I also conducted one conjoint interview with a couple who had both been brought up bilingually in their families of origin, and were bringing up their children bilingually. I

have drawn on this interview, but they have not been included in the main research group, because it was such a different interview context.

Table C – Couple Interview

Name	M / F	1 st language	Culture & ‘race’	Langs in childhood	Change lang/culture as young adult	Forced / voluntary migration	Parent in 1 st /childhood language	Parent in English	Cross-lang partner
Yvonne	F	Dutch/German	Dutch white	Dutch/German	Yes	Voluntary	Yes Dutch	No	Yes
Zack	M	English/Dutch	English white	English/Dutch	Country not language	Voluntary	Yes Dutch	No	No

To gather my sample, I interviewed 30 individuals in all to help determine my sample criteria. I included an adolescent of 14 for a pilot interview, and then excluded her. As was likely to be the case with adolescents of this age, she presented herself as very much in flux in relation to considerable developmental changes, and this difference from the rest of the research group did not seem fruitful to explore in this particular study. I also interviewed a 19 year old young man but excluded him because English was his first language and I made a decision to include only those for whom English was not their first language (or at least, not their only first language). I also excluded two men I had interviewed because they did not live in England, and I wanted to take the British context into account.

What do these sampling decisions make possible? Although in this kind of research study there is no possibility of generalising the analysis to a general population, I am able to identify processes of meaning construction as well as the significance of the context of the resources drawn on, which will have wider resonance. Individuals draw on resources of their language and culture in ways which have meaning beyond themselves. I can draw

conclusions informed by my theoretical frameworks of some formulations of living life in several languages and about their implications for identity and relationship.

The differences between the research interview material and the autobiographies as data sources relate to the different contexts in which they were produced as identified above, as well as the different nature of oral and written presentations of self. Although the autobiographies were written for various reasons, the research interviews were tailored specifically to explore issues I had identified as pertinent from the literature and from the analysis of the autobiographies –honing a focus on particular aspects of speaking several languages. Notwithstanding these differences, as in the case of the heterogeneity of the research group, it makes the identification of commonalities more striking.

Ethical issues

I discussed the research question and its rationale with all the research participants when talking to them about their willingness to take part in the research, and indicated the length of time the interview would take. Informed consent was sought from all research participants, who signed a consent form prior to the start of the interview. I requested permission to record the interview, with the proviso that individuals could stop the interview or the recording at any time, and permission to transcribe the material for use in the thesis and possible publication, guaranteeing anonymity.

I was conscious of the interventive effect of questions, and the possibility that significant issues could arise for individuals in the interview. I asked individuals at the beginning of the interview to let me know if they considered any of my questions to be inappropriate or they did not want to answer. At a few points in a couple of the interviews, I checked with the research participant whether it was appropriate to continue to explore a particular

theme. Aware that individuals' perspectives might become unsettled by the interview, I included a question about the effect of the interview process at the end. I also let research participants know that they could contact me if they had further thoughts or outstanding issues about the interview.

Because the autobiographies were in the public domain I did not seek permission from their authors to use these as research data.

In my work as a systemic psychotherapist I know that individuals are profoundly organised by their sense of the reality of their constructions. This positions me as a researcher, as it does as a therapist, in needing to attend to accounts at different levels – to find a way to make sense of why someone has constructed the account as they have, and to pay attention to the process of construction. These different levels are related to distinctions drawn in the literature between considering language as referential and as performative (Taylor 2001). I am also acutely aware that the ways in which individuals construct their experiences have consequences which matter, which is why others have argued for the importance of linking the material and the discursive (eg Ussher 1996). This is where I consider my ethical accountability as a researcher lies (as it does as a therapist), to take responsibility for my part in these co-constructions, both in the interviews and in the analysis.

Methods of Analysis

Both the autobiographies and the research interview material used for the analysis were in the form of texts. The research interviews were transcribed and the transcription notations (Appendix B) were chosen for interpretative reasons. I chose to record pauses in talk, as these often evidence moments in interviews when research participants stop to think and are engaged in actively constructing an account for themselves. As I did not consider

conversation analysis, with its attention to sequencing in conversation (Pomerantz & Fehr 1997), an appropriate methodology for my research questions because of the focus on individuals' reflections on and constructions of their language-in-use, a microanalysis of the research interviews was not necessary. The transcription therefore demonstrated only gross nonverbal aspects of communication, such as laughter, and excluded micro elements of communication. In presenting extracts of text in the following chapters, I have focused on material relevant to the points I am emphasising, and have left out the diversions that characterise talk, which with a different research focus would be fruitful to analyse.

The choice of a method of analysis was not a straightforward task, as three of the qualitative research methodologies, a grounded theory approach, narrative analysis and discourse analysis, all seemed applicable for my research question. In order to make a considered decision, I decided to try all three with a small pilot group of interviews. Here I review their analytic concepts, the strengths and weaknesses of each approach and discuss the methodology I arrived at to analyse the autobiographies and research interviews.

Grounded theory approach

A grounded theory approach (Charnaz 1995, Glaser & Strauss 1967, Henwood & Pidgeon 1996) seemed an appropriate method of analysis because it has been shown to have particular value for exploratory research questions in areas where there has been little prior theorisation. The strength of a grounded theory approach lies in its ability to generate theory about processes, or at least, to develop conceptual analyses of social worlds. Other researchers have used grounded theory methods to explore insider accounts of social and psychological events and their associated phenomena (Bartlett & Payne 1997, Charnaz 1995, Pidgeon 1996), abstracting relevant concepts. As Pidgeon (1996) has pointed out, it is an approach which enables researchers to conduct contextually sensitive research.

For my research question, a grounded theory approach seemed particularly useful because I was exploring a question related to my personal experience, and the techniques of grounded theory methodology were developed to help researchers maintain self-reflexivity, and circumvent being overly organised by prior hypotheses. Like Charnaz (1995) and Henwood and Pidgeon (1996) who have developed grounded theory methods within a social constructionist paradigm, I consider that researchers always have hypotheses and theoretical interests which shape their choice of research topic, and influence the design of the interview format and the analysis. However, the very close reading of the data to generate coding in grounded theory approaches ensures that researchers build up their analysis slowly from considerable detail, which helps bypass assumptions and hypotheses somewhat, as these are often held at a more abstract level. The constant comparison of categories and the attention paid to variability in accounts are fruitful in creating new links and emerging ideas.

The interplay, the iterative process, between data collection and analysis, through which an interview format can be modified to explore specific concepts further, and the use of theoretical sampling to choose research participants, also suited the research study because insider accounts had never previously been explored, and were likely to cover unexpected territory. Using a grounded theory method in my first interviews, I coded 'meaning units' (Rennie et al 1988) rather than every single line, and generated some pertinent categories for the processes of learning a second language.

One of the limitations of a grounded theory approach in my view is that researchers so easily fall into treating their categories and concepts as objective; that they lose sight of the constructed nature of the data and of the analysis. This may reflect its use in research studies carried out within a realist framework. Although Pidgeon (1996) has argued that

the exploration of the variability and difference in meaning encompassed in the approach makes it a vehicle for a form of deconstructive analysis, I have not found it particularly suited to analyse the construction of these accounts and therefore of less help in relation to questions of identity construction relevant to my research question.

As in my previous experience of using this method to examine processes of change in family therapy sessions (Frosh, Burck, Strickland-Clark & Morgan 1996), I considered that a grounded theory approach was useful to identify and construct significant and unexpected categories and concepts, but that some of these categories benefited from a different kind of analysis and deconstruction.

Narrative analysis

Because of my focus on how individuals make sense of themselves as speakers of several languages, it seemed appropriate to try a method designed to analyse personal narratives, which pays attention to individuals' ways of organising meaning in their lives (Riessman 1993). Narrative analysis allows an examination of the ways in which individuals present their accounts of themselves through a consideration of these as constructions and as claims of identity (Linde 1993).

There are a variety of ways of conducting narrative analysis (Riessman 1993), of which the most appropriate to this research study was to consider the interviews as extended narrative accounts (Riessman 2001). I had not set out to elicit a life story from the research participants, but to explore different aspects of living their lives in several languages, and although the autobiographies could be considered a type of life story, only sections of these related to issues of living in several languages.

A focus on the analysis of personal narratives can illuminate individual and collective meanings and actions, and social processes (Riessman 2001). Fruitful narrative analysis has been carried out in research with those who have experienced disruptive life events, such as infertility (Kirkman 1997), divorce (Riessman 1993), and serious mental illness in the family (Stern et al 1999). It therefore seemed appropriate for this research in which individuals had experienced discontinuities of language and culture. The conceptualisation of the ways in which individuals draw on cultural genres to construct and ‘emplot’ their own narrative accounts (Ricoeur 1985) also provided a useful lens to examine the research and autobiographical texts.

Although I had included a specific question – “Can you give me an example of a story told about you in each of your languages?” - which attempted to elicit different stories of self, this was not particularly fruitful and participants found it difficult to answer. The question did not seem to fit for research participants. It may have been too difficult to choose among any number of stories or because individuals did not have well-worn stories about their experiences of language. Individuals did tell discrete stories within their accounts in response to other kinds of questions, but applying a narrative analysis to these specific stories did not seem directly relevant to the research questions.

As Riessman (1993, 2001) points out, the decision about which segments to analyse is an interpretative decision driven by theoretical interests. My theoretical interest lay in the construction of identities within different linguistic, relational and cultural contexts, and led me to consider extracts in which individuals focused on describing or defining themselves. Ideas about the ways personal narratives are temporally and spatially structured (Riessman 2001) and are constructed in relation to hypothetical and expected storylines (Kirkman 1997) offered a productive framework with which to consider the

research narratives. Paying attention to the evaluative element of an individual's narrative, the moral aspect of an account also proved a useful perspective.

My narrative analysis of the first interviews highlighted a variety of ways in which research participants constructed their self accounts, and a variability in the narrative forms on which they drew. I also applied a method of narrative analysis developed by Gee (1991) in which selections of text are re-transcribed as poetic stanzas, to reveal the form of a narrative in ways not immediately apparent in ordinary transcription. This allowed me to notice in the extract of an individual's self description the use of a refrain, which indicated a central preoccupation, and enabled me to identify the way this narrative had been constructed in relation to dominant notions of identity and belonging (Burck 1999). However, it was more difficult to see how this could be applied to the range of interviews and autobiographies, and because of their variability how the selection of extracts to be analysed could be argued. Although such a focus on structure had revealed an important element of an individual's narrative, this form of narrative analysis was not considered further. I considered narrative construction in other ways.

The variability in narrative forms identified was significant and merited further attention – some individuals drew on a notion of a coherent unified subject, others drew on a particular narrative genre. However, I was also struck by the limitations of a narrative analysis, which in my view, overlapped with its strengths. In being able to hold an overview of an individual's account, narrative analysis countered some of the fragmentation of a grounded theory method, but in doing so seemed to replicate the pull to coherence which many individuals experience as a constraint of narrative form. Riessman (1993) has argued for the importance of examining the linguistic devices individuals use to hold their accounts together. This leads to a consideration of how identities are situated and accomplished in particular social interactions, in which identity is conceptualised as

performative struggle. However for this kind of analysis, concepts from a discourse analytic approach had more to offer for a scrutiny of the ways individuals constructed their self accounts.

Discourse analytic research

Because of the research project's concern with language and subjectivity, discourse analytic methods seemed highly relevant for the analysis of texts. The idea, that subjectivities are constructed both through global discourses and through local and situated discursive practices, is particularly germane to the exploration of the construction of identities of individuals who speak several languages as discussed in the literature review. Discourse analysis offers a way to scrutinise the 'orderly ways of talking' with which we account for and make sense of ourselves and our worlds (Shotter 1993). There is considerable diversity within discourse analytic research. Following the distinctions Wetherell (2001) has drawn between the different strands of research activity, Foucauldian approaches, discursive psychology, and Bakhtinian research offered the most fruitful concepts and methods, in contrast, for example, to conversation analysis or interactional sociolinguistics.

Foucauldian discursive research has focused on global aspects of discourse, through an examination of the ways societal discourses are taken up in personal interactions. As already mentioned, Foucault elaborated the constitutive and productive effect of power, the ways in which discourse produces knowledge and 'truth' in particular historical and cultural contexts (Hall 1997). A Foucauldian approach is able critically to examine how discourse is shaped through power relationships and ideologies, and its effect on social identity, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief. It could helpfully be used to examine contextual influences in the accounts. As family therapists have taken up

Foucault's (1980) ideas concerning the 'technologies of the self', through which individuals are invited to regulate themselves, and included the identification of dominant and subordinate discourses in the therapy process (White & Epston 1990), discourse analytic research has particular potential to generate ideas for clinical work.

The theorisation in discursive psychological research of the ways individuals position themselves and are positioned in and through language seemed particularly relevant for this research project (Davies & Harré 1997, Wetherell 1998). In considering identity as constituted and reconstituted through discourse use, this discursive approach offered a theoretical lens with which to consider the ways in which individuals constructed their self narratives. Discursive practices are theorised as offering 'subject positions', comprising of particular conceptual repertoires and locations. Individuals create subject positions for themselves and others in their ongoing interactions, both in unexamined taken-for-granted ways and explicitly (Davies & Harre 1997). Discursive analysis seeks to identify 'interpretative repertoires' - "culturally familiar and habitual lines of argument comprised from recognisable themes, common-place notions and tropes" which individuals draw on in their accounts (Wetherell 1998 p401). Identities and subject positions are seen as set up by discourse - and each positioning has consequences and ideological dilemmas, with 'troubled' and 'untroubled' subject positions offered and taken up in interactions (Wetherell 1998). Ideas of how speakers in interaction with each other are considered to invoke social identities, to negotiate the defining characteristics of these and to claim identities or have them claimed for them over time (Antaki et al 1996) also seemed relevant to apply to these accounts.

These discursive approaches provided a way to theorise links between the personal, social and cultural, and to unpack connections between subjectivities and language. Discourse analysis seemed the most appropriate methodology to examine the way in which accounts

were constructed, the ways in which versions were warranted or undermined, and their consequences. This approach could highlight the constructed-ness of accounts which I have argued tend to get lost with a grounded theory approach, as well as identify contradictions and fragments, and individuals' positioning.

In order to analyse individuals' positioning in several languages and between their languages, Bakhtin's (1981) ideas also seemed particularly applicable. He had proposed a concept of 'heteroglossia' to articulate how any utterance is positioned in relation to a number of different and contradictory contexts. This notion emphasised the relations between shifts of meaning and shifts of conditions and contexts, as well as the tensions of collisions between different meaning systems. Bakhtin's notion of 'dialogism' referred to the interaction of different meanings through which it was possible to produce a 'hybridisation' - the mixing of two different linguistic consciousnesses within a single utterance. Bakhtin's theoretical ideas were developed about 'languages' within one language and in the context of the novel, but have in recent years been applied in cultural theory and social science research to questions of subjectivity and communication (Bhabha 1994, Maybin 1998, 1999, 2001a, de Peuter 1998, Shotter & Billig 1998).

The limitation of discourse analytic approaches for the research lay in the scope of the research inquiry. Due to a theoretical interest in a broad range of issues and the paucity of research of this kind in this area, I have aimed to explore a range of different aspects of life in several languages. To do so I have wanted to treat the accounts as referential as well as discursive and performative.

A Synthesised Approach to Analysis

Following my analysis of the pilot interviews I decided to use a synthesised analytic approach. A hybridity of methods has allowed me to consider different aspects of the research material and produce different levels of analysis. It has enabled me to analyse the material within a social constructionist paradigm as referential as well as performative.

A grounded theory approach enabled me to identify pertinent categories and themes in the texts, and to bypass my own assumptions. Particularly because the research topic concerned my personal experience, I saw this methodology as particularly useful in making me work from the detail of the text up. Choosing a grounded theory approach to analyse the autobiographies and the research interviews provided me with strategies to generate pertinent themes and concepts from these texts. I have made use of the iterative processes of a grounded theory approach between data collection and data analysis. I analysed research interviews when they were completed and from the concepts identified formulated other kinds of questions in the next interviews I carried out. For example, the concept of individual's engagement with the differences of their languages was identified and led me to explore this further with individuals.

To analyse the autobiographies I first identified those sections of the writings that referred to issues of speaking several languages and of moving between languages and cultures, and transcribed these to produce texts which I could code. To analyse the research interviews, I coded the transcriptions of the research participants' contributions. Like Rennie et al (1988) I coded 'meaning units' rather than every single line – sentences or several sentences which referred to a particular meaning. I used the method of constant comparison to arrive at merged categories (see Appendix C for an illustration of the categories generated by this method). From these categories generated by clustering categories both within interviews and across interviews, I have selected those most relevant to the research question, and to the questions of subjectivity, identity and

relationships. These concepts and processes are discussed in Chapters 6, 7 and 9, such as the idea of a doubled world in childhood, and the unbalancing of family relationships through children's fluency.

Other categories and concepts I have subjected to further analysis in order to examine their construction within the accounts and what these accomplished. My theoretical interest in the construction of identities led to the use of analytic concepts from narrative analysis to examine how individuals' narratives were structured, which canonical stories they drew on and how individuals managed discontinuities of language and culture. It also drew my attention to the evaluative element of these narratives. These ideas are particularly discussed in Chapter 6, the Autobiographical Texts in examining the demand for coherence, and Chapter 7, Constructions of Living in Several Languages, with regard to the narratives produced in different circumstances.

I have drawn on discursive analytic ideas concerning the ongoing construction and claiming of identity, of positioning in language, and of interpretative repertoires, to scrutinise the ways individuals produced their self accounts. I have analysed the ways in which individuals constructed their languages and themselves as speakers. The concept of 'performance of linguistic identities' has been particularly helpful and I examine this idea in the autobiographies in Chapter 6 and research interviews in Chapter 8. I have used Bakhtin's idea of hybridisation to examine ways in which individuals do their language differences. I have critically examined the concept of 'mother tongue' and its effects in Chapter 9.

To sum up, this is not a straightforward application of one method. In the section above, I discussed my route to determining the most appropriate methodology for these research questions, through using three different methods to analyse my first research interviews. A

grounded theory approach, narrative analysis and discursive analysis all produced issues of relevance for the research project, and I reviewed their usefulness and limitations. Finally I have argued why a synthetic methodological approach, of a grounded analysis to identify and construct significant themes and concepts from the texts, and a discursive approach, which also draws on ideas of narrative construction, allow me to produce an analysis at different levels concerning the questions of living life in several languages.

Chapter 5 - SELF-REFLEXIVITY

Qualitative researchers place self reflexivity as central to the research processes, much as systemic psychotherapists have. This stems from a social constructionist stance in which knowledge is considered as constructed and situated, and therefore calls on the researcher (and therapist) to take responsibility for their own positioning (Lincoln and Guba 1994).

The importance of scrutinising one's personal and theoretical assumptions and values as researcher and of examining their impact throughout the research process has been addressed by a number of qualitative researchers (Burck & Frosh 1994, Steier 1991, Wilkinson & Kitzinger 1996), and is particularly important in researching questions personal to the researcher. It enables the researcher not to be implicitly organised by their own hypotheses. It also allows the reader to consider the researcher context alongside that of the research participants, to judge the persuasiveness of the analysis.

The challenges of maintaining a position of self-reflexivity vary in the different stages of carrying out research. The choice of research question, the literature reviewed, the choice of methodology, the design and the conducting of research interviews are all informed by the researcher's interests. In this chapter I address how I have attempted to identify personal influences and consider how they may have impacted on the research process. I examine the ways in which I have co-constructed the research accounts and discuss my positioning as similar and different to the research participants and the effects. I also consider issues of power and evaluation.

Personal contexts and researcher hypotheses

As someone who has grown up speaking several languages, I was positioned as a researcher exploring experiences similar (at least in one aspect) to my own. It was

therefore important to identify the contexts which contributed to the choice of the research question and its focus. Being interviewed about the area of the research can help forefront a researcher's implicit assumptions and beliefs and enable a different relationship to be taken to these (Burck 1999). I decided to conduct the research interview with myself in writing, to bring forth my own experiences, to facilitate a comparison of similarities and differences with other research participants as well as to highlight further personal connections to the research alongside my theoretical interests. I wanted to make explicit my own hypotheses, rather than have these organise the research in an implicit way, in order to facilitate the emergence of other ideas in the research process. Other researchers, such as Kirkman (1997), have also found this useful. I did not want to 'discover' what I already knew or believed. Here I include aspects of the interview that seemed particularly pertinent.

I cannot remember learning English and French at the age of 4 when we moved to northern Quebec. I grew up speaking Dutch at home and English and French in different parts of the community. Our family communicated across languages, as my parents continued to speak Dutch throughout my growing up, while my brother and I switched to English as soon as we were both in school. My mother always seemed very worried about my fluency in English, and made me study long lists of English vocabulary when I was in high school. My parents switched to speaking English if there were other people present, except if they wanted to tell me off which they always did in Dutch. This was a very double-edged experience, both a marker of having done something wrong and a secret code no one else could understand.

Language speaking seemed very politically loaded in the community I grew up in.

The north of Quebec in the late 50s and 60s was divided by language: there were separate school systems for English speaking and French speaking children (and further divided by

religion). Although each school system taught the other language from the age of eight, we were not allowed to speak Quebecois French at our English school. Thus the education system in combination with other structural factors constructed the relationship between the English and French languages (and cultures) as unequal, and contributed to the polarisations around language use which continue in the province today. The devaluing of French Canadians and their language by the minority English speaking population lay the grounds, alongside economic inequalities, for the separatist movement. Indigenous and immigrant languages remained invisible.

I seem to process my languages differently. I recently took Dutch lessons for the first time in my life, and becoming aware of grammatical constructions I had never previously noticed, had a startlingly paralysing effect at first. I began to read in Dutch, and noticed that I have to verbalise (silently) to myself, as I do in French, as if I have to process this differently, rather than through the written word. I have great difficulty deciphering spoken numbers in English. There are some concepts in Dutch for which I cannot find adequate descriptions in English.

When I went to university and then later came to live in Britain in my early 20s the only language I spoke regularly was English, and my working life and further training has taken place in English. Neither I nor anyone else paid any attention to my knowledge of other languages. My accent marks me as different in each of my contexts, Holland, Canada and Britain, and I seem to have a different concept of 'home' to those who have lived in only one place. When I am pressed to define myself this shifts depending on the context, but such definitions do not mean much to me, although I am aware that I do not often need to respond to exclusionary processes because of my whiteness.

I didn't consider language explicitly when I became a parent. I brought up my son in English. It never really occurred to me to speak Dutch to him and I was living almost entirely in English and speaking very little Dutch, and my monolingual English husband did not seem supportive of his learning Dutch.

My personal context of growing up in several languages contributed to my choice of research questions as well as informing my ideas about what to explore with research participants. I have been organised by the idea that many individuals, like myself, would not have reflected on their experiences of different languages. I considered it likely that many individuals would experience each of their languages differently, and I was curious about these effects. I thought that there would be untranslatable concepts between languages, and that this could affect cross language relationships. My experience of my languages is interlinked with my moves of country, and I thought that these kinds of interconnections would be important to explore with others. My growing up in a community with two languages with unequal status made me want to explore the effects of this with others. I was aware of the negativity associated with 'bilingualism' in common discourses and in the research literature, and wanted to deconstruct this.

Co-constructing the research accounts

The examination of interactional processes in the research interviews can highlight researcher effects and ways in which the interview is co-constructed. Researchers inevitably pursue certain areas and close down others within the interview. Here 'questions about questions' used in the interviews have been helpful. Why shift topic at this point? Why persist in this area? Why question this statement and let that one pass? How make use of similarities and of differences?

An examination of the research interview transcripts revealed that I asked questions to invite individuals to consider contextual influences whenever they had constructed a 'self-blaming' account. As a therapist, I have concerns that individuals often construct issues as personal failure which seem related to context, and as a researcher I found I had the same concerns. For example, when Sonja described herself as not valuing her culture and language enough, I responded by asking about her context.

CB: But do you think there were people around who would have contributed to your valuing it?

Sonja: Yes.

CB: You did have people?

Sonja: No. Not here. I didn't have any Swedish friends.

CB: So pretty hard, hard to value it?

I have been concerned to explore links between personal experiences and wider social contexts. Because of my awareness of the negativity still associated with 'bilingualism' I wanted to elicit alternative experiences which had been neglected. When Venjamin used a double negative and positioned himself in relation to a negative connotation, I asked the opposite to reverse this frame. When he persisted with the term 'problem', I stayed with the reversal.

Venjamin: I don't think language was an inhibiting factor in that relationship

CB: And you said there wasn't ever a problem, do you think there were any advantages?

[. . .]

CB: Do you think it freed you up in a way? Do you think um doing it in English, if it wasn't an inhibiting factor, that it was the opposite, it freed you up in some ways, or not?

This is explicit interventive questioning. I took a position as researcher to try and elicit alternative experiences and perspectives in contrast to the negative ones of dominant discourses.

A dilemma for a clinician carrying out a qualitative research interview is how to maintain the distinction between being a researcher and being a therapist. Others have noted the intimacy and therapeutic aspects of research interviews (Coyle & Wright 1996). Because these research interviews touched on various aspects of research participants' lives, for some this included significant losses and difficulties, and there were moments when I felt drawn to respond as a therapist. A self-reflexive stance has been important here, to notice such moments and decide on alternatives. It has been important to acknowledge poignant experiences and consider the pace and scope of my questions, to attempt to do research therapeutically, rather than to move into a position of therapist.

In conversations with Renata and Cato about becoming refugees when they were children, I was concerned to pace the emotional intensity of the interview. When Renata talked early in the interview of her experience of becoming a refugee, I waited to explore issues connected to this experience until later in the interview when I had a sense that we had made more of a connection with each other.

In the interview with Konrad, there was an overarching motif of his dissatisfaction with himself. Konrad's experience of his difference was signified by language and by being gay which he indicated were somehow entangled with each other, and with hindsight, I did not

focus on trying to unpack this sufficiently. His negativity about himself organised me as interviewer to ask questions to contextualise his psychologised explanations which struck me as unhelpful to him. It also seemed that Konrad and I made an effort to steer clear of therapeutic inquiry, at one point he said: “but now we're also going onto deeper psychological problems”. It is possible that being a therapist may have been constraining in that research interview, curtailing my questions.

Constructions of new meanings

A research interview seeks to explore issues of interest and relevance to the researcher, while the agenda of research participants can be varied, sometimes a wish to explore issues for themselves, sometimes a desire to put a strongly held point of view, sometimes a wish to be helpful. Research participants in this study seemed keen to explore the issues for themselves and I experienced most of the interviews as ones in which mutual learning took place. I formulated many of my questions to connect to research participants' individual responses with the effect that individuals constructed new links and perspectives, and most individuals had never talked of these experiences before so that they were actively constructing their accounts for the first time.

For example, when Cato spoke of his experience of his languages when he first settled in England as a child refugee.

And so I think the kind of lived reality was pretty impoverished here, and I think when we went into Hungarian, and actually I haven't seen it before in this way, I think when we spoke Hungarian, there was a time shift back to a time where it was very different, you know, and I was, things were ok and reasonably easy, and I was

going to do well at school. No question of any of that, and I think actually that was really helpful for me, in kind of not going under. (my emphasis)

He ended the interview by reflecting, with some surprise:

It's an evocative experience this. It's interesting you know, one's relationship with language is, well loaded with feelings, isn't it?

Konrad too indicated that he had formulated a different meaning during the interview process:

I was just trying to make a sort of language connection to that. [. . .] I mean by the end, I suppose the problem for me could have been, was I this English person, or was I this Polish person? [. . .] That's what I'm sort of forming in my mind at the moment. But that's why there was a part of me that I thought was totally separate from my parents. So it was like a part of me wasn't owned by me. [. . .] And I think this was, this was, I've never thought about this, but this whole issue was something to do with this English person and this Polish. [. . .] at the same time, I didn't want to be that boy they thought I was. So I think I had trouble in creating an identity that was, so I split my identities I suppose. [. . .] And I had to be the sort of English gentleman type and then the Polish person I was, was much more emotional and mixed up and puzzled really. The English part of me could be much more, 'this is who I am and this is how I behave', although that wasn't me. *No?* That's really interesting. That's really useful for me. (my emphasis)

Konrad explicitly commented that this description, which is a new one, is a helpful perspective for him. My own thinking about this shift is that it moved Konrad from a

negative self-account to a different frame in which his languages and the context were seen as influential.

At the end of her interview, when I asked what the effect of the interview had been, Therese identified a dilemma she had formulated through the research process about taking her children to Flemish lessons.

Yes especially towards my children so I was thinking I have to take that Saturday morning [Flemish lessons] a bit more seriously, like do I want it or do I not want it, or do I. What am I doing actually, uh, driving the poor children with their 10% commitment (laughs). And maybe I should do a bit, if I want that they have access to that part of, of their background, maybe I should do a little. (her emphasis)

It is evident that the research interviews were contexts in which new constructions were being formulated, and that I as the researcher was influential in bringing these forth.

Similarities and differences in the research relationship

It is easy to replicate processes of ‘othering’ and of colonising others’ experiences, even when that is not one’s intention (Borštnar 2000, Wilkinson & Kitzinger 1996). I have chosen not to go back to the research participants for comments on the interview or my analysis, since this form of triangulation in itself is not always a straightforward way of managing the dilemmas of power in the researcher-researched relationship (Borland 1991).

As power dynamics are subtle, and positionings in interviews complex, it is particularly important to try to pay attention to these. Researchers have power, they both take it and are given it, to make evaluations.

In some interviews I have been aware of the way a research participant would test out my position before going on to elaborate their experience. Quinlan was hesitant about naming an incident as racist, in which her fluency in English was questioned, viewed as incompatible with her Chinese identity. We ended up mutually constructing it as such. I was unsure whether Quinlan's tentativeness was in relation to me, the researcher, a white woman, or that she had never used this frame for these kinds of experiences, repeated throughout her years of schooling. She was often ironic or would qualify her comments about her beliefs or experiences, until I acknowledged and validated these, when she would own them in a more definite way and elaborate further. This made visible some of the social power dynamics between us, myself an older white woman researcher and she, a young Chinese woman, who was a friend of my son. It suggested that there were also complex positionings in the other interviews that were less obvious.

There were also times when research participants and I made reference to some similarity in our positioning such as in this interchange with Renata.

Renata Probably, I think I've probably become more English generally as a person, although I would never call myself English. I would never even take on English nationality, but one gets used to.....

CB It happens (laughing).

Renata You get used to a certain way of being. (indistinct) You must know that yourself. (laughing)

The evaluative aspects of the interview itself and of the narrative constructed are also important to take into account. Bernard told me he had found the interview difficult and that he had been very self-conscious throughout.

I'm not comfortable at all. Apart from my accent being appalling, um, I can't even talk like I normally talk because I don't feel very easy about it, about the interview. [. . .] I don't feel very at ease and it gives me a bit of perplexion in my mind in the way of finding the why's.

The interview had highlighted Bernard's dissatisfaction with his lack of fluency in both his languages, and he had talked of his children's contempt of the way he spoke English. Perhaps the interview tapped into a concern about being judged – experienced as a test of language ability, rather than an exploration of meaning and experiences. Bernard had been a neighbour of mine for many years, and the research interview brought a different punctuation to our relationship.

At the completion of her interview, Maria asked whether I had found her account of herself coherent, and wanted feedback about this. I found this query helpful in highlighting the importance of a perceived demand for coherence, and the ways in which this can be troubling, which I discuss later, and in reminding me of the way researchers are given power to make evaluations.

Self reflexivity in the analysis process

A researcher can maintain a stance of self-reflexivity during the analysis process by asking others to scrutinise their analysis of texts in order to help identify researcher assumptions.

What I have come to learn is that I have been bolder in my analysis of aspects of experience that are more similar to mine than those which are more different. Here supervision has been invaluable; others' perspectives have highlighted my absences and reluctances, in order for other ideas to emerge from the data.

Summary of researcher reflexivity

In this chapter I have discussed the ways in which I have attempted to maintain a stance of self-reflexivity throughout the research process. I have included some of my personal context and highlighted how I thought this had informed my initial ideas about the research question, and have argued that it is important as a researcher to make such influences explicit. I have examined the ways in which I co-constructed the accounts produced in the interviews, in both explicit and in subtle ways. I have highlighted my tendency to contextualise individual accounts which focused on self blame, to unpack what I considered to be unquestioned negativity about 'bilingualism', and to ask questions which enabled individuals to make new connections and develop different perspectives. I have also addressed some of the subtleties of power dynamics in the research relationship. There is an evaluative component to any presentation of a self-narrative, and this is heightened in a research context which, despite attempts to make this a collaborative process and challenge such associations, can be associated with ideas of the normative and judgements.

Chapter 6 – AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

It was a theoretical interest in the construction of the self narratives of individuals living in several languages that led to the decision to include autobiographies, a very particular genre of self-narrative, as research data. Autobiographies are much more consciously worked accounts than those produced in the flux of an interview, and are constructed for different purposes. It seemed pertinent to consider the commonalities, if any, and the variabilities in and between such written accounts and those presented in dialogue with a researcher.

In this chapter I analyse the autobiographies of the five writers, Ariel Dorfman, Katrin Fitzherbert, Eva Hoffman, Luc Sante and Edward Said, whose details are shown in Table A in Chapter 4. All of these writers had moved between languages and cultures in their childhoods, and in their autobiographies they posited these moves as centrally significant in their lives.

As discussed earlier, I have engaged with this autobiographical work at two levels, as referential (making reference to past events, ideas and beliefs) and as performative (actively constructing meaning and identity). Following the selection of extracts in the autobiographies which pertained to the issues of living in several languages, I conducted a grounded analysis to identify significant themes and concepts in the texts. I have drawn on the concepts of discursive practices and positioning to examine the ways in which these individuals have constructed and claimed identities, and warranted these. Alongside the unpacking of the authors' constructions, I have identified the writers' theories of self and beliefs about memory and childhood.

In writing an autobiography, an author must persuade their readers that their particular story ("strikingly original" - cover of Dorfman's book) has something to say about the universal ("It is about us all" - cover of Hoffman's book). That there has been a recent spate of autobiographical works engaged with aspects of living life in different languages is itself relevant, and connects to an increasingly common proposition that migrancy / exile is the archetypal condition of contemporary lives (Hall 1989, Hoffman 1989). Well-known authors also appeal to readers' curiosity about their personal lives ("To read it is to come to know his family and his younger self as closely as we know characters in literature" - cover of Said's book).

Besides these more general justifications each author presents some perturbation that had provoked their own writing. This also functions to ward off imputations of mere narcissism. These rationales construct the writer's relationship with themselves as well as their relationship with the reader.

Luc Sante, a white Belgian, who moved as a young boy to the US, posited an awareness of his 'lost history' as the starting point to his research and writing. The importance of the knowledge of one's origins to one's sense of self is the interpretative repertoire drawn on here. At the same time as placing this desire as central, he positioned this search for his cultural identity as unattainable, and deconstructed notions of nationhood, heredity and cultural identity. His self-narrative is playful, presenting an ironic, witty construction of his childhood, with a lighter touch than other authors, possibly because his family did not experience forced exile, racism or genocide, although there were class issues and unemployment to contend with. He seemed less invested in making any particular claim, although that is in itself a claim, and indeed he argues that this is very Belgian. Eva

Hoffman located her rationale for writing as the need to make sense, for herself as much as for others, of her immigration from Poland to Canada as a young adolescent, which she experienced as profoundly disruptive. Less explicitly stated was the importance of maintaining historical continuity as a Polish Jew, in the context of the annihilation of lives and the disruption of narrative created by the Holocaust. Edward Said named the diagnosis of a terminal illness as motivation for writing his memoir, and drew on the notion of resistance through narrative. He claimed his need to provide "a record of an essentially lost or forgotten world" (p xi), and in the context of the contested status of Palestine, through his narrative as a Palestinian in exile, also made a political claim. Ariel Dorfman saw his writing as a way to claim his multiplicities, which he argued he had previously denied. He juxtaposed his account with a description of the coup against Allende in Chile in which he nearly died, and framed this as an attempt to make sense of his survival, or even, to claim a justification for surviving. Katrin Fitzherbert offered a different kind of rationale for her writing, a need to be truthful in the context of a life of duplicity. She is making an uneasy claim, positioning herself within a genre of 'coming out', of the confessional, through disclosing herself as a German Nazi, a child who was loyal to Nazism but too young to be held accountable for this.

A central theme identified in all of the autobiographies was a preoccupation with disruptions and discontinuities. Dorfman, Fitzherbert, Hoffman, and Sante had moved from one country to another during their growing up and Said had lived his childhood in exile in Egypt, and moved to the United States at age 16.

These moves as children to a different country and into a new language were considered as highly disruptive. Sante put it like this:

We lost connection to a thing larger than ourselves, and as a family failed to make any significant new connection in exchange, so that we were left aground on a sandbar barely big enough for our feet. I lost friends and relatives and stories and familiar comforts and a sense of continuity between home and outside and any sense that I was normal. [. . .] And I lost a whole network of routes through life that I had just barely glimpsed. (p26)

Hoffman used a similar description of the effect of the move.

The only catch is that I have lost the sense of what, driven as I have become, I am driving toward. The patterns of my life have been so disrupted that I cannot find straight lines amid the disarray. Gradual change within one context, one diagram, is one thing: scrambling all the coordinates is another. "Being a pianist", for example, means something entirely different in my new cultural matrix. It is no longer the height of glamour or the heart of beauty. (p158)

The authors constructed the major effect of their move of country as the disruption of meaning. Following Ricoeur's proposition that our stories of self are a dialectic of remembrance and anticipation, the authors saw the moves of country and language as children as having rendered their remembrances inappropriate for anticipation, that their meanings developed in the previous context did not apply in the new context. They had lost the plot.

Research studies of the impact of illness (Kleinman 1988), of fertility problems (Kirkman 1996) and of caring for a relative who experiences psychotic episodes (Stern et al 1999) have shown that these processes are disruptive of individual and family narratives. These studies highlighted the importance of expected storylines in individual's self accounts, and

drew out the need for individuals to ‘rewrite’ their accounts in the face of such disruptions. What these autobiographies proposed is that it is the disruption of narrative created by changing languages and moving countries as children which is most challenging.

The autobiographies themselves can be considered as the means through which the writers address the significance of these disruptions in meaning created through the move of country and change of language. Hoffman wrote of her need to construct a “bridge between present and past” (p117). Said stated his wish to connect the past and present, separated through changes of language, culture and place: “the need to bridge the sheer distance in time and place between my life today and my life then”(pxiv). Sante spoke of the impossibility of translating the past and of connecting the periods of living in different languages. Fitzherbert also formulated her wish to, and the challenge of trying, to link the radically different periods of her life, two very different stories. For these five authors ‘doing autobiography’ is an attempt to make sense of the past disruptions and generate new connections.

Autobiography is also a device for ‘doing’ nostalgia, an attempt at capturing the passing of time, the lost past and the loss of the ‘past self’. Some of these autobiographies engaged explicitly with the idea of nostalgia in the context of loss.

Loss is a magical preservative. Time stops at the point of severance, and no subsequent impressions muddy the picture you have in mind. [. . .] Nostalgia - that most lyrical of feelings - crystallizes around these images like amber.[. . .]
Nostalgia is a source of poetry and a form of fidelity. (Hoffman p115)

Hoffman viewed loss – her move of country - as the marker of significance, ensuring her memory of certain events and details. Sante similarly posited his move of country, experienced as loss, as impacting on his memory.

The reason I can remember such things [. . .] is because I had to. Less than a year later the ground cracked under my feet, and I clung to my memories for dear life. Later the memories became a way of establishing order in the chaos of my world.
(p186)

These writers presented their loss of language, relationships and culture, their move into a new language/culture as engendering a changed relationship to the past. Because the context was no longer physically present, the individual had to work differently to keep connected to their past. Said referred to different positions he had taken up in relation to his constructions of the past:

There had been a time until the early sixties when I simply could not bear to think about my past, especially Cairo and Jerusalem, which for two sets of different reasons were no longer accessible. [. . .] I rationed early memories of my life . . . (considerably chopped up, full of atmospherics that conveyed a sense of warmth and comfort by contrast with the harsh alienation I felt in my New York life) as a way of falling asleep. (p217)

These writers constructed their past as ‘frozen’, both because of their geographical distance from it and the linguistic difference.

Our constructions of our childhood are ongoing and evolving projects (Freeman 1993). The authors varied in how explicitly they referred to the process of 'doing' autobiography,

and how they conceptualised this, and memory construction. Dorfman, Hoffman, Said and Sante all let the reader know in various ways that they located themselves within postmodern notions of narrative, while Fitzherbert positioned herself as a realist conveying the objective facts.

Sante began his book by playing with constructions of narrative and presented nine different brief versions of his life, parodying stories of hardship, delinquency, becoming a priest and contracting syphilis. Sante indicated that he and the reader should be well aware that autobiography is also fiction. Dorfman too referred to the fictional element of autobiography, but his rhetorical device engaging the reader to question his writing, may act as a type of stake inoculation (Edwards & Potter 1992), having the opposite effect.

A transition to what might well be called the biggest con game ever invented by humanity: literature. The game I am still engaged in right now, the reader believing in the truth of my perishable, sliding words, lending faith to them without a shred of proof that I am not making everything up, inventing a self in this book as I invented (or so I say) a name for my future on that vessel. (p81)

Said took a different position to the construction of his narrative, closer to Fitzherbert's stance, claiming 'truth' for his memories – the need "to be true to my perhaps peculiar memories, experiences and feelings" (p pxv). This claim is also a political one, drawing attention to the reality of exile and the truth of Palestinian identity, in the context of the attempts to disqualify and obliterate these in the ongoing conflict of the Middle East.

Authors varied in the way they conveyed and warranted the authenticity of their accounts. Fitzherbert, Hoffman and Said strove to be persuasive in straightforward ways. Fitzherbert took an objective realist position in her confessional genre, Hoffman engages the reader

with her interiority and dilemmas, and Said invites the reader's sympathy on personal as well as political grounds. Dorfman and Sante drew on other writing conventions, with Dorfman using dramatic imagery and metaphor and Sante playing with postmodern constructions and being explicit about the ways his accounts have been constructed: "I seem to have memories from that time, or maybe I've simply annexed stories told to me later and retrofitted them" (p183). Authors used tenses for rhetorical purposes, to position themselves, and employed the present tense to bring their account of their childhoods to 'life', and to warrant these. This device also draws on the idea that such descriptions of events would not be possible if they had not actually happened although King (2000) has argued that individuals also use detail to warrant these kinds of memories for themselves.

Different experiences in different languages - Doubled identity

So how do these authors address the central concerns of this thesis? All conceptualised their experiences in each of their languages as different and saw each of their languages very differently. For Said, there was "the forgiving and musical intimacy" (p4) of Arabic and the "rhetoric of statement and norms" (p4) of English, mixed together in his mother's conversations, as well as the banning of Arabic at his colonial British school in Cairo, positioning it as both shameful and subversive. Sante conceptualised French as "part of his body and his soul" while "no one will ever break his heart with English words". He thought his languages were "absurdly different" – "One is tissue and the other is plastic. One is a wound and the other is a prosthesis" (p238). Dorfman referred to Spanish as "the language of secrecy, the language of clandestine emotions" (p70), and to English as the "the inner kingdom I could control" (p84), and the language for being an American. Hoffman had different associations in her two languages – "Polish was a vital sound, energized with the essence" while "English is cold - a word without an aura." (p106). Fitzherbert was predominantly preoccupied with the differences between the values and

attitudes embedded in her German and English between World War II Britain and Germany – the languages are inextricable from their symbolism for Fitzherbert.

In all the accounts, first languages (although Said considers both his languages his first, making distinctions instead between Arabic, his ‘native’ language and English, the language of his education) are constructed as expressive, emotional, and connected, while second languages are constructed as introducing a distance. Interlinked with these constructions of their different languages, the writers experienced themselves differently in their different languages. In relation to such different senses of self, the authors drew on constructs of a ‘doubled identity’, and used this in a variety of ways. This runs counter to many current and postmodern conceptualisations of subjectivity.

Fitzherbert’s use of a construction of double identity is central to her book, as reflected in her title, True to Both My Selves. Fitzherbert moved to England at age 10 from Germany at the conclusion of the Second World War, and was asked by her mother to conceal her Nazi German origins. Fitzherbert described how she learned to become an English girl, and to deny her German-ness. She described hoping that:

[. . .] once I became a typical English school girl on the outside I would also feel like one and would be able to stop pretending, relax and be myself again, even if a different self. Yet when my transformation was so total that I sometimes caught myself speaking - even thinking - about Germans as my enemies I discovered that inside me nothing had changed. I was still the same Katrin Thiele as ever. My masquerade may have become second nature, but it remained a masquerade. (p243)

This is a construct of a sense of doubleness which drew on an idea of a 'genuine' inner self and an outer self which is a performance (hence false) (Winnicott 1960). She referred to this 'inner self' as an essential 'core'.

I now needed all the energies previously devoted to cultivating my Kay Norris identity to keeping Katrin Thiele alive. She belonged to another world, a world that didn't exist any more, but for the sake of my sanity I had to hang on to her. (p244)

Fitzherbert is accomplishing several things with this account. Her use of the construct of a genuine core self, relies on the idea that a continuing core identity is necessary for psychological health (Erikson 1968) and suggests its jeopardy would lead to madness. This construction needs to be understood in the context of the claims Fitzherbert is making about herself. She had the difficult task of laying claim to a demonised and discredited identity, that of a Nazi. She used the idea of the importance of early influences in forming the 'core self' to construct her positioning. She claimed the identity of a loyal child with considerable integrity, and that what she knew of Nazi ideology was worthy, helpful for the country, and had an irresistible influence because it was a training in conformity.

Although in the above extract she proposed that her stance was the only one viable for 'her sanity', she also presented herself as one of the few brave enough to be truthful. Through the telling of her account, she raised questions about how other German children and families 'really' dealt with the discrediting of Nazi ideology.

Fitzherbert never owns or claims responsibility for the Holocaust, either for herself or for her parents. She constructed herself as a child too young to know, her mother as unable to challenge those around her, and her grandparents as forced to live in Germany because of harassment in Britain during the first World War because her grandfather was German. Fitzherbert cannot believe that her father, a Nazi officer, whom her mother described as

hating Jews and in favour of what was going on, was responsible for atrocities. Her construction of learning about the Holocaust as a young adolescent is framed in relation to its difficult effects on herself.

I managed with mental gymnastics on a Herculean scale, simultaneously to hold on to large chunks of German wartime ideology. It was the only way I could cope with my conflicting emotions: horror, disgust and guilt by association at Germany's crimes, love and respect for my family and friends and last, but not least, the need to hang on to my own integrity.

Fitzherbert worked to keep her different languages and attitudes separate to privilege her 'integrity'. This frame of 'integrity' works as a rhetorical strategy inviting agreement that this is important for individuals' well being. Fitzherbert's sense of her doubleness was also constructed within the context of her parents' separation. Her English self is 'performed' at her mother's behest; her German self is experienced in relation to a remembered notion of her absent Nazi father. Each identity is constituted in relation to one of her parents, encompassing different values and attitudes. Fitzherbert concluded her book by noting how enduring her double identity has continued to be.

Said presented the tensions in his growing up as a stateless exiled Palestinian attending a British colonial school in Cairo, also by drawing on a construct of a doubled identity.

The worst part of my situation, which time has only exacerbated, has been the warring relationship between English and Arabic. [. . .] My whole education was Anglocentric, [. . .] But although taught to believe and think like an English schoolboy, I was also trained to understand that I was an alien, a Non-European Other, educated by my betters to know my station and not aspire to being British.

The line separating Us from Them was linguistic, cultural, racial and ethnic. It did not make matters easier for me to have been born, baptised and confirmed in the Anglican Church, where the singing of bellicose hymns like 'Onward Christian Soldiers' and 'From Greenland's Icy Mountains' had me in effect playing the role at once of aggressor and aggressed against. To be at the same time a Wog and an Anglican was to be in a state of standing civil war. (p5)

This construction of doubled identity incorporated the theoretical notion of 'othering'. This notion has been elaborated in Said's academic work and demonstrates the recursiveness between his self account and theoretical interests. Said also referred to a sense of his doubleness at home. His mother spoke both English and Arabic to him, and each language carried different meanings of him, one a loved, the other a discredited son.

Her [his mother's] English deployed a rhetoric of statement and norms that has never left me. Once my mother left Arabic and spoke English there was a more objective and serious tone that mostly banished the forgiving and musical intimacy of her first language, Arabic. At age five or six I knew that I was irremediably 'naughty' and at school was all manner of comparably disapproved-of things like 'fibber' and 'loiterer'. By the time I was fully conscious of speaking English fluently, if not always correctly, I regularly referred to myself not as 'me' but as 'you'. (p4)

This is a construct of different positionings within each language. The self-referential use of 'you' in English may signify the challenges of claiming an agentic subject position in English, or an experience of a distancing. Like Fitzherbert, Said also drew on a different usage of a doubled identity, a construction of an 'inner' and 'outer' self and posited this as his major discovery in writing his autobiography.

[. . .] a second self buried for a very long time beneath a surface of often expertly acquired and wielded social characteristics belonging to the self my parents tried to construct, the 'Edward' I speak of intermittently, [. . .] (p217)

The construct of a second, (or should this be first?) 'buried' inner self, an archaeological metaphor, signified the 'genuine' self, surviving the stupidity and destructiveness of a colonial education, and the challenging family dynamics of a father whose expectations he could not fulfil and a mother who "plays emotional games", and is positioned in relation to a 'social' self constructed by and through others.

Sante moved as a young boy with his white Belgian family from Belgium to America, a transition involving several moves back and forth before they eventually settled in the States. He too drew on the construct of a double identity.

Even as the boy grows gradually tougher and more worldly in English, he carries around a French internal life whose clock has stopped. He is unnaturally fragile, exaggeratedly sensitive in his French core. (p241/2)

This is also a construct of an 'inner' and 'outer' self, differentiated by language, the inner self of his first language, and the outer of his second. Sante also posited this sense of his doubleness as a mark of differentiation from other people.

[. . .] one of the things that sustains him in the world is the knowledge of his French innards. He can feel superior about it (his peers don't possess anything equivalent, and they'll never have any idea what it feels like) but it is simultaneously a source of shame. At home he may be alone with his parents, but

while they have an awesome power over his infant core, his growing English self is something they don't know and can't touch. (p242)

Sante also referred to the notion of doubleness in relation to different life stages – “the little Belgian boy, polite and diffident” in French and “a loutish American adolescent” in English.

Dorfman moved with his parents who were Russian Jews by origin from Argentina to the United States at age 3, and at 13 from the United States to Chile. At age 25, he was exiled from Chile and moved to the US. Dorfman is preoccupied in his book with making sense of a family story of how after being hospitalised at age 3 in the States where nobody spoke Spanish, he had refused to speak Spanish again to his family for almost ten years. Dorfman constructed this switch of language as a switch of identity.

[. . .] the boy I once inhabited found himself crossing a line of apparently no return and decided to suffocate the person he had been, to kill the language in which he had built the house of his identity (p 42)

Dorfman's autobiography is structured around a premise of his refusal of a doubled identity hence reliant on this construct.

The harder I tried to access those children who occupied my body, see through their dual eyes what they saw, the further I drifted from what they witnessed that day. One of them, the child inside who speaks Spanish, will not respond, because I left him to die in the dark, atrophied the language with which he might have transmitted these memories to me; and the other child, the one who speaks English, he was present of course, but he was swept that moment from the fierce abscess of his

mind, preferring to pretend that his start with me was painless and splendid and immaculate, that when he caught me as I felt I had no previous language. (p43)

Dorfman narrates this as drama. His use of pronouns is of note, positioning himself as 'I' the writer, reflecting on 'I' the child - an essence of self, and the 'he's of English and Spanish identities. He refers to notions of essence and of presentation, and of different languaged identities. The metaphor of the 'child inside' also confers a sense of an ongoing doubleness of child - adult. Dorfman also attributed a sense of doubleness in relation to living in a doubled world, of home and the outside community, as a young child in the US, his parents' communism needing to be concealed in the McCarthy era, while he was desperate to claim an all-American identity. He developed this construct of doubleness further, when fluent in both English and Spanish, later in his life.

It was as if they (the languages) inhabited two strictly different, segregated zones in my mind, or perhaps as if there were two Edwards, one for each language (p116)

This doubleness referred to a sense of a different and separate identity in each language, rather than notions of inner and outer.

Hoffman, moved from Poland with her Jewish family to Canada in the 1950s, at age 13, and her autobiography is centrally preoccupied with the acute sense of loss involved in this move, in particular the loss of language and meaning. She constructed her experiences in Polish and English as very different. She presents a sense of her doubleness as brought forth in the context of writing her diary.

Because I have to choose something, I finally choose English. If I'm to write about the present, I have to write in the language of the present, even if it's not the

language of the self. [. . .] the diary is an earnest attempt to create a part of my persona that I imagine I would have grown into in Polish. In the solitude of this most private act, I write, in my public language in order to update what might have been my other self. The diary is about me and not about me at all. [. . .] I learn English through writing, and, in turn, writing gives me a written self. Refracted through the double distance of English and writing, this self - my English self - becomes oddly objective; more than anything, it perceives. It exists more easily in the abstract sphere of thoughts and observations than in the world [. . .] This language is beginning to invent another me. However, I discover something odd. It seems that when I write (or, for that matter, think) in English, I am unable to use the word "I". I do not go as far as the schizophrenic "she" - but I am driven, as by a compulsion, to the double, the Siamese-twin "you". (p121)

Hoffman used a range of ideas of the doubleness of a first and second language self, connected to different constructions of her languages, the language of the self, and the public language. There is a 'subjective' self and an 'objective' written self, an 'imagined' first language hypothetical self and a present 'lived' second language self. Similar to Said's account, there are different positionings in each language, demonstrated in pronoun use of 'I' and 'you'. These positionings are rendered more complex by the added layer of Hoffman's self as the autobiographer, writing about writing.

Hoffman also drew on notions of a 'public self', which imply a 'private self':

[. . .] I've developed a certain kind of worldly knowledge, and a public self to go with it. That self is the most American thing about me; after all, I acquired it here. (p251)

These are constructions of a doubled self as inner and outer, and Hoffman shifted between these notions of subjectivity and a sense of the contingency of her different senses of self.

Because I have learned the relativity of cultural meanings on my skin, I can never take any one set of meanings as final. [. . .] I know that I've been written in a variety of languages; I know to what extent I'm a script. (p275)

The idea of a core self with an overview of other identities is a notion to which Hoffman keeps returning.

It's only when I retell my whole story, back to the beginning, and from the beginning onward, in one language, that I can reconcile the voices within me with each other, it is only then that the person who judges the voices and tells the stories begins to emerge. (p272)

Hoffman's concluding remarks concern an idea of a 'true axis', the place 'to know that we exist not only within culture, but also outside it', which may function as a desire as much as a claim.

I'm searching for a true voice [. . .] (p275)

What can we make of this variety of use of a doubled identity construct by these writers? For these individuals with several languages, it is as if experience condenses around language, as if each language acts as a 'strange attractor' for identity, to borrow a metaphor from chaos theory – each language, a set that collects trajectories and processes that are stable, confined and but are never the same thing twice (Tsonis 1992). Language is the

context which draws a distinction for the individual in their sense of themselves. The authors, except for Sante, tended to privilege their sense of doubleness, over other multiplicities, and an interpretative repertoire of an inner and outer self predominated. Individuals also made reference to a sense of doubleness linked to different worlds and different periods of their lives lived in different languages.

The construction of an inner and outer doubled self (Erikson 1968) offers a less pathologising account than that of splitting or of schizophrenia, which were initially drawn on professionally to problematise bilingualism. The construction of different languaged identities may be one way for individuals to manage the discontinuities and contradictions in their lives, and I return later to this question of what the construct of a doubled identity accomplishes.

Cultural Performance

A metaphor developed by several of these authors in relation to learning a new language was that of performance, an agentic construction of identity - the idea that they had learned to perform themselves in their second languages.

Fitzherbert gave a description of an explicit project of learning to perform herself as an English girl when she moved to England at age 10.

I needed every ounce of my energies for working on my image as a 'Londoner, born and bred', conforming to my surroundings and not standing out in any way.
(p217)

Fitzherbert reported that she experienced herself as “ an actor trapped on stage in a never-ending play” (p267). Hoffman also viewed herself as performing in English after her move to Canada, after her mother has noticed a change in her.

My mother says I'm becoming "English". This hurts me, because I know she means I'm becoming cold. I'm no colder than I've ever been, but I'm learning to be less demonstrative. [. . .] I learn my new reserve from people who take a step back when we talk, because I'm standing too close, crowding them. [. . .] I learn also that certain kinds of truth are impolite. [. . .] I learn to tone down my sharpness, to do a more careful conversational minuet. [. . .] Perhaps my mother is right, after all; perhaps I'm becoming colder. After a while, emotion follows action, response grows warmer or cooler according to gesture. I'm more careful about what I say, how loud I laugh, whether I give vent to grief. (p146/7)

Hoffman's repeated participation in linguistic and cultural practices began to constitute a different identity, constructed through a prevailing conventional notion of Englishness. This performance included a different physical style which becomes evident when she visited Poland as a young woman.

“Did you turn into a real American?” “Half and half” she diagnoses [. . .] If she sees Americanness in me, it's partly because my face has become more composed, more controlled than the faces of the women around me. I move in a more "American" way too - with looser, more resolute strides. I've allowed my body a certain straightforward assertiveness; but I've inhibited the capricious, impulsive mobility of expression that's the sign of femininity here. Danuta's features and mine carry within them different ideologies of femininity, different loci of restraint and expression. (p236)

Hoffman's North American English identity could be read in and on her body, highlighted in contrast to a Polish identity. Said also addressed the effect of taking part in American ways of living.

To my increasing sadness, by early December 1951 I had become Americanized as "Ed Said", to everyone except Brieger, [. . .] as more and more of my past seemed to slip away, worn away slowly but ineluctably by the American modalities of our routinized days and evenings. (p228)

Dorfman considered his performance of himself as an American as aimed at acceptance by others.

[. . .] my repetition and learning of English quickly turned into a ritual of belonging, another way of combating loneliness, perfecting accent and grammar and vocabulary as evidence that I was not an immigrant recently stranded on these shores. As a child, I was always performing, [. . .] as a way of incessantly staking my claim to the public space in an English that I knew I had not been born to, endlessly acting out for the benefit of my fellow Americans. (p82)

These performances were based on imitations of others, the repetitions of which became constitutive, but individuals also found it important to claim agency. Dorfman, Said and Sante all made reference to 're-inventing themselves' in English. Dorfman constructed his switch of language from Spanish to English as a young boy as a way to create himself. Said talked of

[. . .] beginning again in the United States, unlearning to some extent what I had learned before, relearning things from scratch, improvising, self-inventing, trying and failing, experimenting, cancelling and restarting in surprising and frequently painful ways (p222).

Sante referred to

[. . .] a project to reinvent myself, acknowledge no bonds or ties or background, pass myself off as entirely self-made (p25)

These writers claimed agency in how they positioned themselves in the new language and culture, accomplished by ignoring their other context. They constructed themselves as engaged in a ‘project of identity’ (Connell 1987), a notion that they could pick and choose how to live themselves. The new linguistic context lends new meanings to interactions and relationships, highlighting aspects of everyday living which had been taken-for-granted and had been beyond awareness (what Bourdieu (1977) refers to as the ‘doxic’). The circumstances and the meaning of their moves, as well as the power relationships in which individuals participated, all contributed to ways individuals learned to perform themselves.

Dorfman and Hoffman both pointed out that the ‘project of identity’ is a dominant American postmodern narrative. America, the “society in which you are who you think you are. Nobody gives you your identity here, you have to reinvent yourself every day” (Hoffman p160), with its message to immigrants that: “you can become someone else, you can give birth to your self all over again. You can reinvent yourself in an entirely new language in an entirely new land” (Dorfman p49). Hoffman constructed this as a struggle, at a loss of how to do so, while Dorfman and Sante talked of their projects as young boys of self-invention as ‘immaculate’ and ‘splendid’, mirroring the ‘doing’ of an autonomous

male identity, alongside reflecting back on what an impossible and mistaken idea they had had. Hoffman's sense that she was performing herself in English was problematic for her:

I am enraged at the false persona I'm being stuffed into [. . .] (p119)

A sense of performance created tension with regard to an individual's sense of the importance of authenticity. Several of these writers noted a shift from performance to a different sense of themselves in the language. For Sante his sense of performance became transformed into something experienced as 'natural'.

My mask merged with my skin. My internal monologue ever so gradually shifted from French into English; (p 259)

Dorfman too referred to having noticed a shift in himself:

I realized that Spanish was beginning to speak me, had infiltrated my habits. (p114)

The use of the metaphor of performance in a second language was of note in its use by all the writers. Their performances of new linguistic practices involved a different use of body language and eventually constituted their identities. This connects to Judith Butler's (1990) notion that performance creates identity in relation to gender, and I will discuss this further in relation to the idea of 'doing' a linguistic identity. However, a sense of performance also raised dilemmas for individuals' relationship to themselves.

In drawing on a construct of a doubled identity, individuals had to attend to the relationship between their different senses of themselves. On the whole, the authors referred to a separation and disconnection between these different 'selves'.

Fitzherbert constructed her inner German and outer English self as irreconcilably ideologically different and kept separate, except in response to a rare perturbation.

There were now few occasions when my inner and my outer worlds connected up together, mostly when something to do with Germany, Hitler or Nazism came up for discussion at school, on the radio or in a film. I always gave it all my attentions and never ceased to feel a shock when I heard yet another, to me, die-hard fact being contradicted. (p244)

Fitzherbert worked to keep her contradictions separate. Sante also constructed his different identities as separate, with difficulty in moving from one language to another. He saw himself as unable to experience both identities at once, and likened this to:

[. . .] the famous optical illusions: you can see the vase, and then you can see the two profiles, but you can't see both images at once. (p243)

Sante posited the effect of this as always having to leave out significant parts of himself.

I suppose I am never completely present in any given moment, since different aspects of myself are contained in different rooms of language, and a complicated apparatus of airlocks prevents the doors being flung open all at once. (p260)

Hoffman posed the disconnection between her past and present ‘selves’ differentiated by language, as a problem when an adolescent in Canada. She saw this sense of disconnection as an ongoing problem well into her adulthood and viewed the task of connecting her own differences as extremely challenging.

[. . .] how can I move between them without being split by the difference. (p273)

Said, similarly, constructed a separation between his inner and outer selves, difficult to connect with each other.

The split between 'Edward' (or, as I was soon to become, 'Said'), my public, outer self, and the loose, irresponsible fantasy-ridden churning metamorphoses of my private, inner life was very marked. (p137)

Dorfman also posited a disconnection between his different languaged identities, which he had lived serially, for much of his growing up. He suggested it was:

[. . .] as if there were two Edwards, one for each language, each incommunicado like a split personality, each trying to ignore the other, afraid of contamination. (p115)

His thesis was his refusal to claim his doubleness, and his refusal to position himself in relation to his two languages, two identities.

I was unable to look directly in the face the divergent mystery of who I was, the abyss of being bilingual and binational at a time when everything demanded that

we be univocal and immaculate. [. . .] I was not willing to be a young man in between, not knowing his own name, adrift in a world torn by the two Americas inside and outside him. (p220/221)

In constructing themselves as doubled, the writers posited the interface between their different senses of self in their different languages as problematic. The difficulties of making connections, and working the disruptions in their lives were also constructed as a problem of translation. Said spoke of

[. . .] the sense I had of trying always to translate experiences that I had not only in a remote environment but also in a different language. (p xiii).

Sante considered translation of the past as a loss of emotional meaning.

In order to speak of my childhood I have to translate. It is as if I were writing about someone else. The words don't fit, because they are in English, and languages are not equivalent one to another. [. . .] It's not that the boy couldn't understand those phrases. It is that in order to do so, he would have to translate, and that would mean engaging an electrical circuit in his brain, bypassing his heart. (p239)

Hoffman's title Lost in Translation also posited the loss involved in the processes of translation. She viewed translation as changing meanings.

In order to translate a language, or a text, without changing its meaning, one would have to transport its audience as well. (p273)

These ideas, of translation as impossible, challenge a commonsense notion that, with a little effort, everything can be translated. And yet the authors are engaged with a necessity to translate in their attempt to link their discontinuities. Hoffman used this as metaphor.

I have to translate myself. But if I'm to achieve this without becoming assimilated - that is, absorbed - by the new world, the translation has to be careful, the turns of the psyche unforced. (p211)

Hoffman warned of the abuses possible through translation, the distortion of meaning.

How far can we draw parallels between the translation of a text and of a person? Derrida (1985 p118) took the position that:

Translation is inscribed in a double mind, that is, a text is both translatable and untranslatable.

Perhaps crucial is who is doing the translating. Hoffman recounted an incident when she and her sister first went to school, and the teacher gives them Canadian names.

The twist in our names takes them a tiny distance from us - but it's a gap into which the infinite hobgoblin of abstraction enters. Our Polish names didn't refer to us they were as surely us as our eyes or hands. These new appellations, which we ourselves can't yet pronounce, are not us. (p105)

For Hoffman, being translated by others was experienced as creating a distance from her experiences and from herself.

We can consider these individuals as grappling with living the tensions between the impossibility of translation and its necessity for trying to ‘work’ their discontinuities between languages. At the same time, they imply that speaking one’s childhood within the same language would be straightforward, that constructing the past is facilitated if it occurred in the same language and in the same place. Implicit here is a notion that their relationship with the past would have evolved differently in the same context and been more accessible to living their lives. Both the possibility and the desirability of a full accounting, of being fully present, constructed as solution to the challenges of multiplicity is assumed in these accounts. These individuals presented themselves as made partial through their several languages. But don’t all individuals have to live with a sense of fragmentation? Hoffman hinted at this when she wondered whether her longing for wholeness was a longing for some ideal of childhood – conceived as simplicity.

The unity, the seemingly organic growth of my desires is becoming fragmented, torn. That wholeness came from the simplicity - perhaps given to us only in childhood - of my wants. (p158/9)

This is a tension posited between experiences of fragmented multiplicities, brought about by a disjuncture of place and language, and a longing for coherence and wholeness.

The demand for coherence and longing for place

The writings on narrative in the literature review suggested that individuals experience demands for coherence and find it challenging to sustain fissures or fragmentation. There is a perceived external demand for coherence and individuals’ constructions of self are developed in and through their relationships. These writers had found that others’ questioning of them had provoked their longings for singular definitions and for place.

Dorfman realised he did not have a place, when asked where he came from at age 16.

Fitzherbert also felt she did not have a place.

[. . .] if anyone had asked me where or what my real life was, I wouldn't have had an answer, it wasn't in any known place or context, not Germany or England, not with my mother or my father, but all of these mixed up together in a turbulent confusion that I couldn't express but that was ever-present in my consciousness.
(p267)

Said's title, Out of Place, emphasised his state of exile, and functioned as a trope for his self-narrative.

I found myself reliving the narrative quandaries of my early years, my sense of doubt and of being out of place, of always feeling myself standing in the wrong corner, in a place that seemed to be slipping away from me just as I tried to define or describe it. Why I remember asking myself, could I not have had a simple background, been all Egyptian, or all something else, and not have had to face the daily rigours of questions that led back to words that seemed to lack a stable origin?
(p5)

This questioning of identity and belonging led Said to resolve to live as “a simple, transparent soul” (p317) on moving to America, to become ‘anonymous’, and stay silent about his complexities.

The notion of a coherent identity also seemed connected to an idea of place and belonging. Hoffman viewed herself as not belonging anywhere and longed for a place.

[. . .] where on earth I might find a stable spot that feels like it's mine, and from which I can calmly observe the world. (p160)

Sante constructed a different connection with place, a connection with many places.

I felt at home in all those places, or perhaps what I meant is that I felt equally homeless in all of them. (p16)

For these writers, others' questioning had provoked them to experience their multiplicity as problematic and had crystallised their sense of not belonging. The desire for singularity and the wish for place were interlinked for these writers, who had experienced a loss of country, and drew on dominant notions of 'home' and belonging.

Relationship to language

Several of these writers addressed their relationship to language generally, informed by their experience of having moved between languages. How did they represent language?

Hoffman constructed her move into a new language as a loss of language.

I have no interior language, and without it, interior images - those images through which we assimilate the external world, through which we take it in, love it, make it our own - become blurred too. [. . .] I'm not filled with language anymore, and I have only a memory of fullness to anguish me with the knowledge that, in this dark and empty state, I don't really exist. (p108)

Hoffman here constructed her different relationships with language. Using a language unselfconsciously, a sense of being inside a language, also means language is inside the individual. A move to a new language places an individual outside of the language, and the language outside of the individual. Like Hoffman, Sante constructed his move into a new language as an experience of not having a language.

He doesn't yet have a language. He has two tongues: one is all quivering, unmediated, primal sensation, and the other is detached, deliberate, artificial. To give a full accounting he would have to split himself in two. (p242)

But what does 'not having a language' convey? Both authors constructed their second languages as introducing a distance, a disconnection from 'experience' as much as a loss of voice. Language no longer did what it was supposed to, and revealed itself as insufficient, as Hoffman describes it:

The thought that there are parts of the language I'm missing can induce a small panic in me, as if such gaps were missing parts of the world or my mind - as if the totality of the world and mind were coeval with the totality of language. Or rather, as if language were an enormous, fine net in which reality is contained - and if there are holes in it, then a bit of reality can escape, cease to exist. (p217)

The relationship with language, once seamless, becomes disrupted. This different positioning in relation to language was accompanied by a sense of contingency for Hoffman.

I know that I've been written in a variety of languages; I know to what extent I'm a script. (p275)

These authors constructed moving into a new language as forging a different relationship to themselves and to language itself. This was both an awareness of the insufficiency of language and how profoundly language shaped them.

Constructing multiplicity as creative

These authors had portrayed their childhoods as a struggle with irreconcilable conflicts. The writings on translation discussed earlier (cf Steiner 1998a) had emphasised both the creative potential and the hazards for the translator of working between languages. These writers viewed their adulthood as finding ways of using their multiplicities, and constructed this as helpful to them in a number of ways.

Hoffman considered that she had developed a way to use the interplay between her two languages to debate the dilemmas in her life: whether to marry, whether to become a pianist. She had found her use of the interaction of her different perspectives one of her most valuable assets in her professional life.

As I read, I triangulate to my private criteria and my private passions, and from the oblique angle of my estrangement, I notice what's often invisible to my fellow students. (p183)

Hoffman posited her different views as functioning to make her of interest to others, but addressed how this had also created dilemmas for her. Once Hoffman had begun to make use of her difference, she had found herself unable to escape from this positioning.

However she proposed that her multiple perspectives were also helpful as they made her highly suspicious of dogma.

Because I have learned the relativity of cultural meanings on my skin, I can never take any one set of meanings as final. I doubt I'll ever become an ideologue of any stripe: I doubt that I'll become an avid acolyte of any school of thought. (p275)

Said thought his perspective as an exile was exceedingly helpful to him professionally, and called his book Culture and Imperialism (1993) an exile's book. He proposed that his different languaged perspectives enabled him to carry out the deconstruction of assumptions

Ever since I can remember I have felt that I belonged to both worlds, without being completely of either one or the other. [. . .] belonging, as it were, to both sides of the imperial divide enables you to understand them more easily. (1993 pxxx)

Said argues that one has to own one's voices / languages in order to be able to use their different perspectives, in an article writing about writing his autobiography.

Having allowed myself gradually to assume the professional voice of an American academic as a way of submerging my difficult and unassimilable past, I began to think and write contrapuntally, using the disparate halves of my experience, as an Arab and as an American, to work with and also against each other. [. . .] though it was difficult, it was also exciting. (1998 p 6)

Sante too proposed the usefulness of employing the interaction between his different languages, in that it enabled him to view each of his languages critically .

[. . .] there are subterranean correspondences between the linguistic domains that keep them from stagnating. [. . .] work on one another critically, help enhance precision and reduce cant. (p260)

For Dorfman, the interplay between his languages could be used explicitly in many different arenas, as when he switched languages internally to shift mood.

[. . .] if I can't fall asleep at night, I'll banish the saw-buzz of language, say English, that's keeping me awake, and switch to my other language, Spanish, and lazily watch it erase the residues of dread from me as if I were a blackboard. (p6)

Not only does Dorfman argue that multiplicity has radical potential, but he posits the ability to live with the contradictions which living in several languages entails, as the key to survival.

[. . .] to tolerate differences and indeed embody them personally and collectively might be our only salvation as a species [. . .] (p 42)

These constructions of multiplicity as creative and radical are echoed in Bakhtin's work and his notion of the hybrid as “pregnant with potential for new world views, with new 'internal forms' for perceiving the world in words” (1981 p 360), and I will explore this further, following the analysis of the research interviews.

Summary of the analysis of autobiographies

In this chapter I have examined five autobiographies of writers who grew up with several languages. Although these autobiographies were written for a number of purposes and I

selected only the extracts which made reference to the issues of living in several languages, these were clearly of central significance and concern to the writers. All of the writers were preoccupied with the discontinuities of meaning in their moves from one language to another as children. I have argued that we can consider these memoirs as the 'working' of the discontinuities and of the differences between their different languages. This 'working' reveals the cultural resources and narratives available for making sense of the multiplicity which living in several languages engenders.

Hoffman and Sante posited the most significant aspect of moving countries and languages as children as the disruption of meaning. Dorfman and Fitzherbert addressed the discontinuities involved in constructing themselves as different people in their new languages informed by a fear of being othered, and Said examined the discontinuity of moving between languages structured through inequality and othering.

All of the writers addressed differences between their languages, of expressiveness, and of attitudes and values and the challenges this posed as they moved between them. Authors constructed their languages differently, and constructed themselves differently as speakers of each language. In their accounts they drew on constructs of doubled identity. These constructions were informed by interpretative repertoires of 'inner' and 'outer' selves, of genuine and core identities and social performances. The use of the metaphor of performance in a second language was common to all the writers, and this accompanied notions of the possibilities of inventing oneself as different. Although there were differences between them in whether they took an objective realist position or postmodern constructionist stance, it was of note, how compelling the construct of doubled identity was for them all, given current common ways of conceptualising subjectivity. These uses of constructs of doubled identity are of interest because they raise questions of what these accomplish as well as what dilemmas they involve, and I will pursue these issues in the

analysis of the research interviews. These writers addressed the difficulty they faced of finding connections between their different senses of themselves, which was also constructed as a problem of translation.

Through others' questioning of their identities and sense of belonging, writers had constructed an ideal of a singular and unitary identity related to an idea of rootedness, of having a place, which they juxtaposed as a solution to the tensions of their multiplicities. They most commonly managed this by leaving out aspects of themselves.

These writers who posited the differences and disconnections between their languages as challenging, particularly because located in different time periods and places, all positioned themselves currently as owning and making use of their multiplicities, despite the difficulties involved. These autobiographies could all be considered developmental tales, constructed as narratives of struggle, through which these individuals have arrived at some resolution. They constructed multiplicity as helpful and creative in bringing different perspectives together and in being able to take different positions from those around them.

These writers positioned themselves and carried out discursive work within the genre of autobiography. Does this genre offer particular resources to individuals, apart from other contextual resources they drew on in living in several languages in their different circumstances? In the next chapter I go on to examine which issues of living in several languages are significant to the research participants and how they construct themselves. Some of the individuals I have interviewed had similar experiences to the authors and others lived in several languages in very different circumstances and contexts. What were the commonalities and differences in these different kinds of accounts?

Chapter 7 –CONSTRUCTIONS OF LIVING IN SEVERAL LANGUAGES

In the following three chapters, I examine the research interviews, which like the autobiographies I have treated both as referential and performative. As outlined in Chapter 4, I conducted a grounded analysis of the interview texts to identify significant themes and concepts, as well as examining individuals' constructions of self by drawing on discursive analytic concepts. I had set out to explore what individuals found to be significant about being speakers of several languages, the circumstances in which they learned and spoke their languages and their effects, and to track the meanings individuals gave to their languages. The interviews gave the opportunity to explore areas identified in the autobiographies further.

In this chapter I examine constructions of childhoods lived in several languages, and narratives of those who had started to live in a new language as adolescents and adults. I consider the impact of age and different circumstances and contexts on what is identified as significant for individuals as speakers, the meanings of language speaking and the ways individuals make meanings of themselves.

Following this in Chapter 8, I examine research participants' constructions of themselves as speakers and of their languages and examine the intersections of their identities and power relationships. I discuss ways in which individuals have made use of their differences of language. In Chapter 9, I go on to explore perspectives on language use and family relationships.

Half of the research group had lived their childhoods in several languages in various different circumstances, and I examine four different kinds of contexts. I examine the accounts of individuals who grew up in colonial contexts, in other bilingual / multilingual contexts, of those who grew up in families who spoke minoritised languages in Britain, and of those who learned a new language having fled their countries of origin. I examine the significant issues these different circumstances presented and how these relate to individuals' constructions and narratives as speakers of several languages.

Growing up in multilingual colonial contexts

Four research participants had grown up in multilingual colonial contexts. Wasan, an Asian man had lived in Kenya until age 7, Petiri, a black Shona man, had grown up in what was then Rhodesia until his late adolescence, and Onno & Xandra, two white South Africans, had lived in South Africa until their late 20s. These countries had had clear hierarchies of languages, and these research participants and their languages were positioned differently. English, the language of the British colonisers was dominant in all three countries, as was Afrikaans, in South Africa and Rhodesia / Zimbabwe, the legacy of Dutch colonialists. These research participants' constructions of themselves and their languages drew on ideas about colonial and postcolonial processes. Because of their different racialisation and positioning, they constructed very different accounts of themselves as speakers and of their languages.

In Rhodesia, Petiri grew up speaking Shona as his first language, as well as Ndebele, several other African languages, English, and an Afrikaans dialect, in order to be able to communicate with a variety of different people with whom he came into contact. His

education had taken place in English, and he presented its effect on him as part of colonising processes.

It had an impact in the sense that personally I began to feel that English was superior to Shona, therefore, there was some degree of cultural imperialism going there, I was aware of that, and also, the more fluent I became in English, the more I wanted to speak English to people I knew didn't speak it. [. . .] I would use more complicated words, which I knew they didn't understand, almost as a way of showing off. You know, I can speak English better than you. [. . .] It becomes very much like internalised racism where you actually become ashamed to speak Shona. Whereas with other people like the Kurds, they're very proud to defend their language, in my case you were glad to get rid of it, which is incredible. Including the way people spoke, they tried to get rid of their Shona accents, actually get rid of the African accent altogether and try and have, what is known, as an English accent, which is appalling.

Petiri drew on ideas of cultural imperialism and internalised racism here and his language is of note. He shifted from the use of “I”, to “you”, to “they” in this extract, perhaps as a way to distance himself somewhat from the “appalling” process in which he had participated and clearly been invested as an agent, and to demonstrate its pervasive effect. Petiri presented his learning of English as a performance of linguistic practices and attitudes, through which he was constituted and constituted himself as an English speaker, imitating the English coloniser. This is what Bhabha (1994) termed mimicry as colonising process, although as he argued this is always ambivalently, - "almost the same, but not quite" (p86), particularly because of racialisation. A focus on gaining fluency, on the ‘performance’ of learning a new language would make it likely that attitudes are enacted

rather than challenged and reworked. In this account, language learning is central to the processes of racialisation and colonisation.

Alongside his 'performance' as English speaker, Petiri also began to perform himself as a Shona speaker.

There was also some degree of pretending to be less fluent than I actually was. [. . .] I remember making a prat of myself (laughs). When I look back, I think, what was I doing that for, it was really so stupid.

Petiri described disowning his Shona language and culture, because he experienced these from an English colonial perspective. He positioned himself as 'I' in this extract, shifting from an indictment of colonialism to personal accountability - this 'performance' should have been resisted. This flux between positionings of agency (hence responsibility) and of contextual influences impossible to resist, may always play out as tension, but also functions to constitute himself as a self-reflective individual and as someone who has moved on and seen the light.

Wasan had spoken mainly Gujarati in the Asian community in Kenya in which he lived until he was 7, attending Gujarati nurseries and schools. His parents had arranged private tutoring for him in English from a very young age, and he became familiar with Swahili spoken by black Kenyan Africans. His family had, as others did in Kenyan Asian communities, incorporated a number of Swahili words into their talk in Gujarati, and this differentiated them from Gujarati speakers from India. Wasan addressed the complexities in the experiences of racisms in Kenya, when he spoke about challenging racist abuse at school in Britain.

CB I just wondered whether then um you can use language to kind of subvert racism or challenge it, whether then Gujarati can or whether it has that

Wasan I suppose it has certain elements, because then we could be abusive in Gujarati, and other people wouldn't know we were being abusive about them, because there are certain Gujarati or Swahili words which are probably just as racist, that some of the Asian children would use about white children, um so a carry over of that um (indistinct) which it's interesting in terms of Gujarati, Gujarati or Swahili words for black, (indistinct) being an abusive word used by Asian people about black people, (indistinct) kind of throwing it back.

The interactions between different racisms are illustrated here, with Asian children having used words appropriated from Swahili with racist connotations about black children, to be abusive about white children who were being racist towards them. The ability to use a 'secret' language as peers offered a certain protection and sense of power, but Wasan indicated a sense of irony and discomfort about this repetition / replication of racist terminology about blackness, purportedly for a different end. He, like Petiri, constructed himself as reflective about his own participation in these processes.

Onno and Xandra, white South Africans, grew up speaking only Afrikaans, within communities in apartheid South Africa in which black Africans and white Europeans were expected to learn Afrikaans. Onno also constructed his narrative in relation to processes of colonisation, but from a different positioning. He presented his increasing awareness and discomfort during his growing up of the dominance of Afrikaans, his first language and of his own challenge of apartheid when a student. It was when Onno moved to an English speaking university in South Africa, that he had experienced a shift in his self-definition.

CB Can you tell me a bit about what that was like. It sounds like you wanted to go for complete English, doing it all in English?

Onno I think it was very hard, I think it was in some ways very traumatic, because I stood out. I came from one community where I was part of the dominant culture, and going to another where I was seen as part of the oppressing culture. And my language certainly was the one thing that most made me stand out. In other ways I could have been seen as anybody else there. I think it was because I was Afrikaans speaking that people certainly had a go at me for representing a culture even though I didn't feel myself necessarily (indistinct) views of that culture. I think it is very hard, very, very hard.

It was not Onno's whiteness as such, that became problematised in this different context, but his language that identified him as the white oppressor. Afrikaans was seen as the language of oppression, while English, despite its own colonial history, was a language with status, which offered opportunities in the wider world. Onno constructed the shift from seeing himself as a radical challenger to being defined as an oppressor as 'very traumatic'. Here a slippage occurred, from grappling with the implications of his membership of a dominant group, to occupying a 'traumatised' position of his own. This is particularly striking in contrast to Petiri's account. Being defined by others had pushed Onno to define himself differently.

I think it made it more difficult to see myself as an Afrikaner. I've never been able to do that.

Onno constructed himself through disidentification - as someone who had always positioned himself as 'outsider' in his family and in his community. He had totally immersed himself in English, as a way out of participating in the dominance of Afrikaans.

He saw English as “opening doors” for him to learning and to broader worldviews, but also as leaving out aspects of himself.

I think English is different for me, I think, English, I feel much more constrained I think in a way.

Onno drew on notions of Englishness to perform himself as an English speaker.

I think it's about my sort of preconceived ideas about English people, and that they aren't expressive and they are much more sort of aloof or a bit stuck up and that kind of thing. And I know that those things are stereotypes but I think maybe it's also going back to the way I grew up, that for me, English has always been better than Afrikaans in a way, or again I think it comes back to a political thing about Afrikaans being this oppressive language. [. . .] Afrikaans people, I think, is, would be talked about in the same way as Nazi people in Germany and I think, it leaves one with, a, I don't know, with shame in a way about who you are and where you come from.

Speaking English may have helped him escape his Afrikaans identity, but at the same time it stigmatised it. Onno constructed his Afrikaans speaking self as richer and more expressive, but discredited by others; English offered opportunities and a way to distance himself from shame, but constrained him. Onno's sense of his identity in both his languages included tensions.

Xandra had also grown up monolingual, speaking Afrikaans throughout her university and professional training in South Africa. Her narrative was less explicitly interwoven with postcolonial discourse. In her 20s, Xandra had started to work in English in a culturally,

racially and linguistically mixed work setting and posited this as the point where she really faced the inequalities in South Africa. She started to learn Sesotho, because “embarrassed” that she did not speak any African languages, but did not get far with it. Xandra had always viewed English as a high status language and had a struggle to express herself in it, which made her feel unconfident as a professional. She had grappled with being defined as an Afrikaner and with the way Afrikaans was constructed by others:

It represented also some really bad stuff, that Afrikaans in many ways was seen, was seen as evil, and the language of oppression and, you know, I remember, um, it still happens now when I think about it, the, the sadness for me that comes from that, and I think depending on the context, you know, I guess feeling saddened by it but also um, finding it, um, shameful in some way or, or um, embarrassing,

Afrikaans, the language she had always used for intimacy and emotional expressiveness, now carried contradictory and incompatible meanings, and like Onno, she struggled with connotations of shame. Xandra too experienced English as a more formal language, and herself as less emotionally expressive and humorous in it.

Petiri had come to live in Britain, at age 19, to avoid being drafted into the army to fight on the wrong (white Rhodesian government) side in the war of independence and had stayed. It took him some years, and a repositioning through addressing racism at work, and at the prompting of his daughter, to begin to relearn the Shona language, which he now constructed as embedding the richness of a “culture that has been there for hundreds and thousands of years”. Petiri posited a relationship with a Shona colleague as significant to changing his relationship with his language and culture.

We're coming from the same culture and he presents very much as more African than I am, in terms of his values, in terms of his presentation, in terms of what he does. He talks about his grandfather and his community of grandfathers, who don't exist other than in his head, and he tells these stories. And I say to him, "You know, I remember all these stories, and I'd forgotten about them."

This had highlighted Petiri's different positioning, and triggered reconnections with his past. Petiri had noted differences in his sense of self in different relationship contexts.

CB Do you think there are differences (when you're speaking Shona and when you're speaking English) in other ways as well? Do you feel yourself to be different when you're greeting people differently?

Petiri I'm more self-conscious. I know they can see through, they can see certain things which a Zimbabwean man wouldn't do, a Zimbabwean man wouldn't behave like that, so I tend to become more authentic, I think, an authentic Zimbabwean in the presence of a Zimbabwean, than in their absence. It's always there but I wasn't aware of it, until I observed myself, and thinking, I'm being different here. Even the whole thing about asserting myself, I wouldn't be as assertive because that's not the done thing. You have to be polite, and all those things, so yes, a huge impact.

Petiri drew on a concept of 'authenticity' of self here, making a claim to a core Shona identity perhaps in relation to his refutation of this in the past. This is a similar use to that of the autobiographies, and perhaps particularly that of Said. Interestingly 'self-consciousness', usually applied to an experience of performance, is here linked to authenticity. Petiri may see himself as performing in each of his languages. His use of "I know they can see through" may have referred to a discomfort about being seen to be performing English-ness, as he had in his past. Petiri presented himself as someone who

had been misguided, but had come to see things and himself differently with reference to colonisation. He described himself as "well rooted" and as "multiple", noting the salience of the postmodern discourse of multiple subjectivity. He shifted between constructions of himself dependent on his relationship context and saw himself as using different aspects of himself strategically to 'fit' with different contexts, posited as a survival strategy from childhood.

Coming to live in Britain in her mid 20s, had confronted Xandra more with being Afrikaans and others' negative reactions. She described an African Caribbean woman telling her how difficult it was having to work with her. This incident had provoked Xandra to rethink how she was experienced by others.

I assume that this difference is something that I can be excited by, where often the other end of that is, is, is dangerous in some way, which, I mean a good example is, with my, my partner that paired with me on the course that, I would say, "oh wow, somebody really different from me," and, she was thinking, "this is too dangerous, I'm not sure about this," and that I, that, that was not in my mind at all, so, so I really have to think more about differences, you know, that I can't just assume, they're that, what that means, and you know, that I should ask about that and I should be respectful

Xandra presented herself as needing to pay more attention to her positioning as a white South African and her effect on others. Xandra did not disidentify as Afrikaans as Onno did. She was very glad to have left the "oppressive Afrikaans community", but it had made her face the "very painful side of being Afrikaans" which she had avoided when enclosed within the community.

To summarise, these individuals drew differently on ideas about colonialism because of their different positionings. Petiri and Wasan both presented themselves as having participated in colonial processes, while Onno and Xandra struggled with their positioning as members of the colonising oppressive group, with Onno disidentifying as an Afrikaner.

The meaning of becoming an English speaker varied considerably, because individuals were racialised differently. Petiri's performance as an English speaker mimicked English colonial attitudes, while Onno's stereotyped performance in English constrained him in a different way, as well as providing advantages. Petiri's journey to becoming a postcolonial subject, although a hazardous one, could be viewed as a heroic developmental account. He had relished the reclamation of his Shona identity and language, and the ability to position himself in various ways within English. Onno's account and his relationship to both his languages remained full of contradictions and tensions. Xandra focused more on internalised processes in her interview and she too had found it difficult to encompass the contradictory constructions of Afrikaans. A focus on her unequal relationship to English speakers left her own positioning as a member of a colonising oppressive group underexplored, although she constructed herself as needing to take more account of this.

All of these individuals claimed a sense of multiplicity through language. Petiri and Wasan had to manage the unequal relationships between their first language and the dominant language and how that constructed their sense of themselves as speakers during their growing up, but currently positioned themselves more easily in their multiplicity than Onno and Xandra, who had stayed monolingual until their 20s, and struggled with the ongoing contradictions and tensions in their identifications.

Several other research participants, Di-Yin, Ffionn and Therese, had grown up in contexts, where two or three languages were spoken, termed diglossic or triglossic, and everyone switched between languages. The meanings of different languages were constructed in relation to power relationships and the historical context.

DiYin grew up multilingually in China where it was common practice for individuals to switch between languages and dialects. Everyone learned Mandarin, the official spoken and written language of China. DiYin made few distinctions between her languages and found it difficult to define one as her first, although she saw Mandarin as the most formal. At one point she had felt stigmatised because of her rural accent when she had moved to Shanghai as a child, and had quickly adapted her accent.

Ffionn had grown up in Wales in a bilingual community. The meaning of being a Welsh speaker had been constructed within the framework of the history of the struggle to maintain Welsh speaking and counter the dominance of English. A pride in Welsh speaking counteracted English constructions of Welsh-ness as inferior. For Ffionn, Welsh speaking had also acquired meanings of class, as it was the middle class communities who most strongly supported Welsh education, while working class communities had moved to sending their children to English schools. Meanings of language speaking were constructed locally within the community as well as in relation to historical traditions.

For Therese growing up in bilingual Belgium, the meanings of Flemish, her home language and of French, her school language carried connotations of class and power differences, as well as of political struggles between the two language groups.

- Therese All the universities were in French and it was the high society language so in [P], the little, it was a little town, all the high society they spoke all French, the doctors and the lawyers, so there was also like a bit a resistance to speak Flemish, er speak French because of all the connections, political connections it had. My mother speaks French, and quite well
- CB So it had other meanings, French, which had an impact on the way that you felt about it?
- Therese Yes, definitely when I go to Brussels, I would make a stand of not speaking French, because they are supposed to be bilingual, nobody's speaking Flemish. So I would resist, I would make a point not to speak French

In these diglossic / triglossic contexts, children had participated with others in language speaking which embedded and enacted power relationships within their communities. The meanings of language speaking were constructed in relation to social and political struggles in which everyone participated. These accounts contrasted with those of children who had grown up speaking a minoritised language in Britain.

Growing up with a minoritised language in Britain

Angela, Konrad and Justine had been born in Britain, and Quinlan and Wasan had moved to Britain when young children, and they had all grown up in families speaking a minoritised language. This meant that research participants had had to manage the distinctions of language and culture between their private and public worlds. In this section I examine how they conceptualised this experience and came to see themselves.

Angela, a woman of Sicilian origin, grew up in a family embedded in an Italian community in Britain. She spoke four languages during her childhood because her parents spoke

Albanian, Sicilian, and Italian. She had always considered herself different, because of language differences: Albanian in relation to Sicilian, Sicilian in relation to Italian, Italian in relation to English. Her sense of her difference had been confirmed when English parents had refused to allow their children to play with her. Angela recollected a longing to claim an English identity, a sense of belonging, which had not been successful. She constructed her childhood as lived in different languaged worlds.

You became quite good at acting because you had to act in a different way in the English speaking community and then suddenly you're in the Sicilian community, to the point of dress, clothes, language, [. . .]the food, the food, ya everything.

Angela saw herself as performing differently depending on the context. Her use of the pronoun 'you' rather than 'I' here, may be her positioning as an adult reflecting on her childhood self, or indicate an observer position to herself as a child. This sense of performance was interlinked with her construction of herself.

And you live in no man's land, especially language-wise. You're neither one or the other. And it's quite, it's quite, and in childhood, it's quite an isolating factor in your life. Um. You have this dual personality. Only when you get older do you appreciate it, and you look back.

Angela constructed herself as doubled here, having a 'dual personality'. Although Angela switched between four languages as a child, she used a dual construction here, perhaps because this is a common conceptualisation of the self. Angela did not refer to a primary language or cultural identity. Her identities were positioned in relation to each other. In such circumstances perhaps only an identity as an 'outsider', as different, could be experienced as 'authentic'.

Quinlan, a young woman of Chinese origin, who had moved to Britain at the age of 5 from Hong Kong, also saw herself as located in two very different cultures and languages, different worlds:

Home was Cantonese and school was English. I used to think they were very, very separate.

Quinlan reported that she had not wanted to speak Cantonese outside of home, or in front of her friends.

I really didn't like it. It wasn't as though I was ashamed of it, that wasn't it, but it was like different, and children don't like to be different.

Quinlan had seen her language as a marker of difference, and worked to keep her languages and worlds separate. She too saw herself as very different in each of her languages.

Konrad had been brought up in a Polish speaking family in Britain and also had experienced himself as different.

I think I wanted to be like everybody else, but it [being Polish], I saw it as defining me as superior, ya, you know, superior equalling a way of surviving or, I also was different in that I always played with the girls and not the boys, but that's my sexuality, so there was that whole, it's difficult to disengage that from my Polishness, from, I think it all built up to actually, you know, it's left me with problems today feeling different.

As a child, Konrad had constructed his difference as superior, but recollected tensions between a wish to be the same as other children, and his claim to difference as specialness. Konrad is a gay man and had challenged gendered rules at school, which also designated him as different. A visit to Poland at age fifteen had been yet another confirmation of his difference, "I don't feel Polish at all in Poland", and of his inability to find / claim a sense of belonging anywhere. He too conceptualised his childhood as living in two different worlds of home and outside.

But I know that the world at home, the world behind the walls, you know, the inside of the house, was a world which was realer than the world outside. [. . .] And although it was an emotional world cause of the sort of family we were and my mother, it was more comfortable than being outside. And I was aware of having, I realise now that it was agoraphobia. I didn't like going, my mother used to send me to buy sugar or something. I used to stand by the front door and say to myself and I was quite little. 'It's alright, you're just going out to buy sugar. Open the door and go out and buy sugar.' And I had no way of telling my parents that that's what I felt, because by then I felt that it was something, you know, that they just wouldn't understand, and it was something wrong with me, and I had to pretend.

Konrad had viewed his difficulties in managing the outside world as personal failing, now labelled as agoraphobia. In response to a question about the place of his languages in relation to these experiences, Konrad developed the following construction:

I was just trying to make a sort of language connection to that. [. . .] I mean by the end, I suppose the problem for me could have been, was I this English person, or

was I this Polish person? [. . .] That's what I'm sort of forming in my mind at the moment. But that's why there was a part of me that I thought was totally separate from my parents. So it was like a part of me wasn't owned by me. [. . .] And I think this was, this was, I've never thought about this, but this whole issue was something to do with this English person and this Polish. [. . .] at the same time, I didn't want to be that boy they thought I was. So I think I had trouble in creating an identity that was, so I split my identities I suppose. [. . .] And I had to be the sort of English gentleman type and then the Polish person I was, was much more emotional and mixed up and puzzled really. The English part of me could be much more, 'this is who I am and this is how I behave', although that wasn't me. *No?* That's really interesting. That's really useful for me.

Konrad explored the idea of a doubled identity here. He saw his English speaking self as rather stereotyped, and implied that this was a performance - "that wasn't me". His sense of himself in Polish was more complex and constructed within his family relationships. This exploration of the effects of his language differences unsettled his idea of his personal difficulty.

Wasan, had come with his family to live in Britain at age 7 from Kenya, and described considerable differences between home and outside home, both in his childhood and currently.

I think it is the difference in the content, more depending on, the sort of conversations I would have at home are often quite different to outside conversations. So I think I would feel different in that way. [. . .] it's more of a sense of maybe having a different sense of identity in the different languages.

Wasan constructed himself as having a different identity in each of his languages, linked to different contexts. He conceptualised his Gujarati identity as constituted within his family in terms of his roles and responsibilities.

Where I might connect more in Gujarati um would be through stories, (indistinct) a lot of the stories are very much about what you should be like, and as a son, what you should be like, and as the eldest son, so there are lots of, kind of, stories I remember as a child in Gujarati, all about duty to your parents and that kind of thing, so I think the emotional stuff in terms of looking after family and parents, then I think it would be more in Gujarati.

Wasan's account of himself in Gujarati encompassed very different values and attitudes from the ones he spoke about in English. These differences in his sense of himself in his different languages were reinforced through differences in clothes, food and behaviour in his different contexts.

Justine, 20, had grown up with a Dutch mother and American father, speaking Dutch and English at home in Britain. Unlike the others, she had not experienced distinctions through language between her public and private world, because her family switched between their languages, one of which was the dominant language. When asked how she defined herself, Justine replied:

Euro-North American. When I fill in things, if they ask for, well now I have to get a bit sensible about it, and you have to think, when they ask for nationality, is it going to be compromising if I put down all three. Sometimes it's just easier to say right, when you're filling out your grant form, right I'm English, 'cause that will just cause, so it depends on context, much less problems.

Justine saw herself as having multiple identities, not easily officially validated, but lived easily enough within her family, and in her culturally, racially and linguistically diverse friendship group. Justine did not think her language speaking identified her as different.

I don't think I've ever had anything that's specifically to do with speaking another language but that's also because it's really not at all that obvious that I speak another language in England. I mean I'm white. You can't really tell. People occasionally say that I have a not quite English accent.

Justine constructed her whiteness as protecting her from having her language speaking come under question, and her other linguistic identity remained invisible. This was in sharp contrast to Quinlan, who as a young Chinese person, had experienced a continual questioning of her language speaking and her identity, because of how she was racialised on the basis of appearance (see Chapter 8).

For Angela, who had experienced struggles around her languages and her identity throughout her growing up, learning French had provided some resolution to her discomfort with herself.

But I loved French, [. . .] I suddenly found a language, which was not English, not Italian. I didn't have to be one or the other, and it was my no-man's-land language, and I loved it.

French had provided Angela with a context that dissolved the polarisations she experienced between her languaged identities. Speaking French had offered her an untroubled sense of herself. She saw this as significant in her choice of partner.

Angela And again, on reflection, there was a Frenchman who came along. Again, it was the no-man's-land syndrome, um, who and he took me on holiday to France and met his parents within the first three months, and I really felt I'd come home. [. . .] I really felt I'd come home, because they loved the fact that I was Italian, Sicilian. I wasn't English. And you know what the English and French are like. And the fact I wasn't, I knew I wasn't, I didn't feel Italian, and I felt I was in no man's land, and I had come home. And I felt totally at ease, with the language, the custom, the character. I could see through them. And, they had a mixture [. . .] Yes, because they had a mixture of the Italian exuberance and the British reserve, as well. They were a real, um they were a real dichotomy, ya.

CB So was it like two different sides of yourself also coming together?

Angela Meeting, yes, and I loved it. I really felt I'd come home.

Angela's husband's French family had valued her as an Italian, and she saw them as encompassing both Italian and British characteristics, which enabled her to be multiply identified in an unproblematic way. This provided Angela with a sense of belonging, a feeling of being 'home' at last, which none of her other contexts had provided.

Quinlan viewed growing up as the key to experiencing herself differently. She had come to a different appreciation of her first language and this linked to her definition of herself as "half way in between" being Chinese British and British Chinese. She posited her relationships with bilingual and bicultural friends as enabling her to own her multiplicity.

It has to really be somebody who has similar circumstances to me, maybe not necessarily English and Cantonese, but just someone who is bilingual or maybe

more, who can sort of understand what where I'm coming from (laugh) because some people just have no comprehension of what it's like to be able to speak two languages and understand two languages. [. . .] So ya, people who can speak two languages. . . . we just talk about everything and then you feel like you're more yourself.

In contrast to the others, Konrad's conception of his difference as problematic had endured over time and he could see no advantages to speaking two languages.

I actually think that for me it's been a disadvantage cause it's split me in half.

Konrad considered speaking several languages as profoundly troubling, and drew on an idea of an unproblematic monolingual monocultural subject.

Maybe if I was English with English parents, it wouldn't have built up to being such a problem.

Konrad identified art as important to him, and he had wanted to become an artist.

That's beyond language and I really, it was terribly important to me. And that's when I felt really myself. But then it went wrong when it had to be my career.

Art had perhaps provided Konrad with a different context - 'beyond language', offering an untroubled subject position. This had not however been sufficient to provide a sense of validation for Konrad. His reference here to feeling 'really myself' when doing art suggested a sense of unease in both his languages. His sense of being split was compounded because his identifications remained full of tensions. Konrad had never had

his sense of his multiplicity validated. I asked whether he had ideas of what might provide this.

The only ideas I ever have are that I wish that when I was an adolescent or in my late teens I'd emigrated, I often, to somewhere like, totally foreign, where I would be a foreigner.

Konrad's proposal that becoming a foreigner could have been helpful indicated that it was not his sense of 'difference' which was the issue. Living in a context where he was clearly positioned as an outsider may be imagined as easier than being in a context where he could be considered an insider but didn't feel one, but his proposed solution is strikingly similar to a context which French provided for Angela - a place, a space which could render the sense of tensions and polarisation of identifications irrelevant.

To summarise, these adults who had been brought up in families speaking a minoritised language in Britain conceptualised this as having lived in a doubled world, except for Justine. They had to find ways to manage the distinctions of language and culture between home and the outside world and this was constructed as a task, on the whole, faced on their own. Speaking a minority language had been experienced as a marker of difference, and been viewed as problematic and to be avoided in public. Claiming an English identity through speaking only English in public as a child had rarely been experienced as successfully achieved. Here individuals' racialisation had impacted significantly on the meanings of their language speaking and their sense of themselves. However Angela and Konrad took their whiteness and its privileges for granted and were preoccupied by ways their language and culture defined them as different. Although these adults' first languages differed in status, each of these individuals, other than Justine, experienced their own language as a marker of difference in the British context.

These individuals had access to different resources with which to manage their transitions between their different languaged domains. Justine had discursive repertoires available in her family and community, different from those of Angela and Konrad, with which to construct herself as multiple and to view her whiteness as protective. Quinlan and Angela had both encountered contexts that had provided them with resources which offered a different sense of themselves, for Quinlan, this was her friendship group and for Angela learning a new language. However Konrad remained troubled by his sense of outsidersness and his sense of being split, having never encountered resources which offered him a sense of validation.

Fleeing from one's country of origin

Three of the research participants, Cato, Renata and Venjamin were forced to leave their countries of origin when they were young children with their families and moved to a new country. They had to learn a new language in circumstances that involved sudden loss and violent upheaval. I examine the ways in which these individuals made sense of this traumatic disjuncture of experience and its effects on the meanings of language speaking.

Cato and Renata were made refugees from Hungary in 1956 when the Soviet Union invaded. This event has remained significant in their relationship to language and to the ways they experienced themselves as speakers. Cato came to Britain with his mother at age 7, as his parents were separated. Following a stay in a refugee camp, he started at school where he began to learn English.

I was quite an angry boy. I was a bit, I was fairly big for my age. But having come out of Hungary and tanks and all that stuff, I thought, talk about feeling I was a bit

hard, I mean, I thought I was a bit hard, and these weedy English kids, what did they know. So, I was, I was like that, there was an arrogance, maybe not arrogance, but there was a kind of hardness. And I got into quite a lot of fights and I wasn't exactly a bully, but I was hard for a while. And it started to, it's funny actually, as, I do remember this, as I started to speak English more, I started to make friends, and make connections you know, and be able to sort of talk about myself and I suppose, a bit talking about vulnerabilities and stuff, so then, the kind of hard, tough, kind of "you can all piss off" sort of mentality that I had, started to, started to erode away. So actually, yeah, yes, I think I felt, I felt more connected and sort of softer as I started to understand people and being able to speak.

Cato described presenting himself as a "hard" boy at school. A performance of toughness did not require much knowledge of the language, and in any case, may have been a welcome change from the sense of vulnerability and powerlessness involved in witnessing violence and undergoing a total upheaval of his life. Others have identified this as a positioning often taken up by boys who have experienced trauma or abuse (Bentovim 1997), although a construction of toughness is generally given kudos by boys (Frosh et al 2002). Cato connected a change in the way he conducted his relationships with a move towards fluency in English.

Renata talked of becoming a refugee at age 8 as "pretty traumatic really", a sudden unpredictable change in circumstance, from a comfortable middle class life to a refugee camp, with a loss of all their possessions. Her family had moved first to Austria and then to Germany. She recollected being motivated to learn German as quickly as she could.

I remember making some really stupid mistake and being laughed at, you know. I remember things like that, and later on in Germany I remember being made fun of

because I made mistakes. I felt very isolated. [. . .] Very, very fast. I was fluent in writing and speaking.

Renata saw experiences of being humiliated about her speaking as having fuelled her push to articulacy in her new language. She linked her experiences in German to what she had felt on moving to Britain and into English in her early twenties

The absolute frustration and despair I felt over my, because I spoke English reasonably, but not as well. I remember locking myself in the bathroom and crying in desperation, I couldn't express myself. I couldn't stand my ground. I think something like that probably went on when I was a child.

Renata's account highlighted the perceived necessity of speaking a language in order to survive in the context of only German speaking peers and teachers at school. She defined her difficulty in the new language as a 'loss of language' in the way Eva Hoffman had, and saw this as a major factor in her despair as a child, profoundly affecting her sense of herself.

I think it probably did sort of dent my personality. I was a very confident child in Hungary, and I was very shy and a rather depressive kind of child for a long time.

The loss of language intersects with all the other losses involved in this catastrophic change for Renata.

Obviously there was other things because I came from a very middle class world to living life in a refugee camp. It wasn't just the language. It's very difficult to disentangle.

Cato and Renata's different narratives of becoming refugees, and their relationship to language seem gendered. Renata's focus on becoming articulate and her presentation as shy, and Cato's 'hardness' and fighting, would have been brought forth in the context of boys' and girls' different emphases on ways to relate. In the interview, Renata conveyed more despair and loss about becoming a refugee than Cato. Daniel & Thompson (1996) have argued that women and men come to narrate difficult transitions in different ways, with women relating details of emotional intensity and men saying they could not remember anything until questioned further with some persistence by the interviewer, because girls and boys position themselves differently in relation to experiences of powerlessness. At the same time, Cato's sense of himself remained more perturbed and unsettled than Renata's.

Having to flee from one's country was not in itself sufficient condition for the construction of oneself as refugee. Venjamin, an Iraqi Jew, whose lived experience of leaving Iraq suddenly with his family when aged five, of sudden unpredictable loss and change may have been similar to Cato and Renata's experiences. However he did not define himself as a refugee. The meaning of arriving in Israel constructed as 'home' for Jewish immigrants whatever their route, was radically different. This highlights the significance of the receiving context in the construction of the identity of refugee, and to the tasks of making sense of the experience of loss and the changes of language.

For Venjamin, the status of his first language was particular problematic. Although most people in Israel spoke several languages, Arabic was very negatively connoted and he thought this affected him considerably during his growing up.

I absorbed the norms of society which were that anything to do with the Arab world was inferior and to be ashamed of, so I was ashamed of the fact that I came from Iraq. I was ashamed of the fact that we spoke Arabic at home, and I had a huge inferiority complex about being an Oriental Jew, and um, I was also embarrassed about knowing Arabic, so I would never ever speak Arabic outside home and was embarrassed when my friends heard me speak Arabic to my parents.

Venjamin had been acutely embarrassed about his language and how it constructed him, and experienced this as central to his childhood experience and sense of self. Like Angela, Konrad, Quinlan and Wassan, he could be viewed as having lived in a doubled world, speaking Arabic at home and Hebrew elsewhere.

Cato related that he had experienced himself very differently in each of his languages.

CB By then you were kind of connected in and were fluent in English and through that, do you think you were different in your different languages at that point? Because there was a difference at the beginning.

Cato I mean I think in a way, part of the difference was that speaking Hungarian, being Hungarian actually, there was, ya of course there was, I think it connected me with what I had been in Hungary, and what life had been like, which was fairly easy, much easier than the time we were having in England. I'd been doing very well at school, and there was a sort of story about my father was the kind of man who had been to university, although I didn't know him, and I think the Hungarian actually connected me to that (2) how can I put it, a more kind of successful kind of identity really. And the kind of, it's not that speaking English connected me just in itself to a different identity, but the lifestyle we had was very, very impoverished. We were really at the kind of bottom of the heap then, it was a dreadful time for my Mum. . .

. It was an incredible struggle. And so I think the kind of lived reality was pretty impoverished here, and I think when we went into Hungarian, and actually I haven't seen it before in this way, I think when we spoke Hungarian, there was a time shift back to a time where it was very different, you know, and I was, things were Ok and reasonably easy, and I was going to do well at school. No question of any of that, and I think actually that was really helpful for me, in kind of not going under. I couldn't speak English very well, I wasn't going to do very well at school for a while. [. . .] So it was a very kind of flawed, failing kind of identity in England, and I think the Hungarian connected me.

Cato drew on an idea of a doubled narrative of self here. Each language was associated with a different sense of himself, constructed in different relationship contexts. Cato proposed that his Hungarian narrative was protective in the very difficult circumstances of the first years in Britain, and that this was preserved because it was spoken in a different language. His first language had anchored him to his self account from the past, and could be used as a resource. However, Cato reported that the meanings of his languages and of himself as a speaker had changed over time.

Things had been so kind of dreadful for us in this country that I started to kind of link Hungarian and the language with a lot of negative things, and things going dreadfully wrong.

The crossover of associations to his languages may have occurred when Cato became more successful in English thus impacting on his relationship to Hungarian. Hungarian refugees also came to be seen negatively, in Britain and Germany, with its own impact on the meanings of the Hungarian language and identity.

Renata did not draw on a construction of doubleness in speaking about her childhood, but had constructed herself as an outsider.

When I was younger I always wanted to belong. When I was in Germany I had this really, I envied those of my friends who belonged.

Her longing to belong echoed Angela and Konrad's constructions of childhood. Renata had experienced a shift in her sense of herself on visiting Hungary as a young woman.

Although not having an accent in Hungarian signified a sense of belonging, Renata had experienced the visit as a marker of her difference.

I went back, in 19- when was it 1970 with my sister which was very traumatic for me actually because that's when I really realised how non-Hungarian I was. [. . .] And how you know, because I came home and I had this family (indistinct) um you know family expected me to be Hungarian and I wasn't. I spoke the language but I wasn't spiritually Hungarian, I wasn't culturally Hungarian. I felt very much like a German and it clashed. [. . .] Um I fell back on (indistinct) it sort of confirmed my Germanness and my differentness. I think now I'm much older and I feel much more reconciled with all my bits, and I'm a bit of German, a bit English and a bit Hungarian. Whereas in those days it was (indistinct). I often wondered what kind of person I would have grown into if I had stayed in Hungary. I would have been a very different person. [. . .] It's a very traditional kind of society in a way and it struck me very forcefully how different it was from, you know, this was just after the 60s in Germany. I was very aware what kind of woman I would have had to grow into if I stayed there.

The visit to her country of origin defined her as different, as it had for Konrad, confirming her 'outsiderness', as not belonging in Hungary. Although the visit confirmed her sense of

her Germanness, it did not resolve her sense of not belonging in Germany. It also presented her with a hypothetical alternative identity, and of a sense of relativity, that her identity was contextually determined. Using the trope of doubleness developed in the autobiographies, one can see that this visit brought forth a sense of a doubleness of identity for Renata, a lived identity and an imagined one. Cato's visit to Hungary in his early 40s had also significantly impacted on his sense of himself but in a different way.

When I went back to Hungary I did feel, there was a sense of coming home. [. . .] There was a big sense of that you know. I think it is bigger you know I mean if you don't choose to go. [. . .] Yeah, kind of looking around at, well again language and lots of other things are tied up. You look at people and they look more like me, facially and colouring, and you think, these would be the people I would have been, well, fantasies, I would have grown up with and getting married to or whatever.

Cato saw his visit as validating his Hungarian identity, through a sense of physiognomic and linguistic similarity and familiarity. Unlike Renata, he did construct Hungary as 'home', and in the context of his exile, his sense of reconnection was intense. Hearing one's first language often used only with family, in a wider context, can engender a feeling of intimacy and belonging. The visit triggered his revaluation of Hungary and the language, which he had experienced as being disqualified in the context of Britain.

For Venjamin, moving to Britain at age fifteen for schooling on his own provided him with a different sense of himself.

I think that I completely overcame this sense of shame about my culture and society as a result of living in England, so I um managed to achieve some detachment from this problem which was huge when I was a young child living in Israel. Here no

one knew what Iraq was, or what Israel was, or what the differences were, and no one was aware of the snobbery of the Israelis, um, so I grew up here as a foreigner.

Venjamin had experienced Britain as a similar context, which French had provided for Angela, rendering the tensions around his identity irrelevant and providing a sense of resolution. This is a 'third space', as Bhabha (1994a) would have termed it, a context which offers different resources and through reframing meanings disrupts polarisation. This is what Konrad had hoped for in proposing a move of country. Although Venjamin recounted experiences of being abused and exoticised in relation to his 'race' and ethnicity in Britain, this had much less of an impact than his experiences in Israel and he had found ways to challenge these. Venjamin stayed in Britain and many years later, began to relearn Arabic for his work.

I started learning Arabic in my early 40s. I didn't experience any sense of embarrassment about the language, on the contrary I really liked the language and was very keen to learn it and was very proud that I could speak Arabic and made the most of the basis that I had in Arabic.

Venjamin's reengagement with Arabic signified a transformation of his relationship to it, moving from embarrassment to pride, similar to Petiri and Quinlan's shift in relationship to their first language. When I asked how Venjamin defined himself, he said he considered himself:

A rootless cosmopolitan. (laughter) I don't reflect much on my identity, and it isn't a problem. Um formally I have dual nationality, I have an Israeli passport and a British passport. But I don't feel English myself and um and I know that people don't regard me as English. First of all with a name like Venjamin you are clearly not English,

and secondly I speak English with a slight foreign accent. But that doesn't pose the slightest problem for me, because I'm completely comfortable living in England and that's where I would chose to live. There's nowhere else in the world that I would want to live, because I like British society and I like the country, um I feel completely at home here, and I have privacy here, much more privacy than I would have in Israel, um, so it really isn't a problem.

Venjamin constructed himself as multiple, the use of "rootless cosmopolitan" both ironic and serious. What I did not realise at the time (and I assume he did) was that this phrase has been used, over the ages, to derogate Jews (Iyer 2000). Although being in Britain had provided him with a less troubled subject position, it has never been a context in which his belonging has been unquestioned. A striking feature of this self definition is the juxtaposition of Venjamin's account of Britain as home, where he is at ease with his multiplicities, in relation to the notion that others consider it problematic - "it isn't a problem", repeated three times. Venjamin's conceptualisation of 'home' challenged traditional notions of home as rootedness.

Although when Renata first moved to Britain as a young woman this resonated with her earlier experiences of being rendered inarticulate in a new language, similar to Venjamin's experience, Britain seems to have provided her with a context in which she could develop a different and multiple sense of herself. Her description of Britain as "a bit of an in-between country", as inclusive of the traditionalism of Hungary and liberalness of Germany, mirrors Angela's description of her husband's French family as encompassing her different identification. She too had started to relearn Hungarian, her first language. Renata's different positioning as multiple, "reconciled with all my bits", also seemed connected with her reframing being an 'outsider', constructing this as an advantage, allowing her to think laterally.

One gets a further sense of the helpfulness of a third country, a 'third space', from Cato's description of his visit to Canada where his father lived. This too had offered him some validation of his sense of doubleness.

I mean I almost started to feel, god, I feel at home here, this is Canada. [. . .] it's such a kind of mixture, such a kind of hotchpotch of identities. [. . .] it's the kind of hybrid, they're in that kind of in-between space. [. . .] that kind of permission to be both identities

For Cato who continued to live in Britain however this was not a lasting validation and his identity as a refugee which encompassed a sense of loss and homelessness endured over time.

I mean you know this is maybe common to people, but I think maybe it's a bit stronger for me this thing, [. . .] this isn't really properly home either.

Renata on the other hand, conceptualised being a refugee as a stance.

My life, you know, I suppose being a refugee you give up this idea that you can plan your life, you become more opportunistic, I think. You take opportunities when they offer them.

She conceptualised home as the one she had made for her children, because then 'you become the home'.

To sum up, three research participants had the experience of fleeing their country as a young child, which involved a sudden and unpredictable loss of home and possessions, and having to learn a new language in a new country. Individuals had to make sense of this very difficult experience of disruption in their childhood. This experience did not necessarily construct the individual as a refugee, as Israel would have been conceptualised as a home for Venjamin. There were gendered differences in the telling of these accounts, with Renata conveying most distress about this experience. All three individuals had their languages and identities connoted negatively in their new country, and they struggled with this positioning. They acquired their fluency in their new language quickly, with Renata emphasising her push to gain articulacy most, probably because of gendered peer expectations at the time. Similar to those who had grown up with a minoritised language in Britain, Venjamin saw his language as signifying his inferiority, and avoided speaking this outside of home. All three individuals worked to claim dominant language identities, but retained a positioning as outsiders. For Cato and Renata visits to their countries of origin had differential effects, leading Cato to positively reevaluate his first language identity, and confirming Renata's second language identity.

A third context, Britain, to which Venjamin moved in his adolescence and Renata in her young adulthood, offered them both a different sense of themselves. It rendered Venjamin's shame about his identity irrelevant, and was seen by Renata as encompassing both her identifications, and validated her sense of multiplicity. Renata and Venjamin both claimed a relatively untroubled multiple positioning, able to use their different perspectives, while Cato's account was centrally organised around his ongoing sense of homelessness and an unsettled identity, possibly connected to not having found an ongoing context to provide him with a different sense of himself.

The research participants who had spoken several languages during their childhood had done so in very different circumstances, and I have explored the ways in which these different contexts impacted on these accounts. It is likely that children always experience learning a new language as a necessity, that they have no choice, and that they have little or no influence on the circumstances which demand this of them; however, these different contexts offered different resources and challenges.

Those individuals who had grown up in multilingual colonial contexts accounted for themselves by drawing on a postcolonial lens. The starkest difference in language speaking came from the different positionings of individuals and their languages in the hierarchies - the colonisers' children, Onno and Xandra had stayed monolingual until their young adulthood, while Petiri, had to learn the colonisers' language for his education which had been conflated with taking on colonisers' attitudes. A process of making this language his own, and reconnecting with Shona, his first language enabled Petiri to feel at ease with his multiplicity. For Xandra and Onno coming to terms with their own and their language's positioning as oppressive was a more troubled process, carrying ongoing meanings of shame.

The circumstance of growing up in diglossic and triglossic contexts where switching between several languages were everyday practices meant that children participated in this with others. Language speaking both embedded and enacted power relationships. The meanings of language speaking were constructed in communities in relation to unequal relationships between languages, and in the context of social and political struggles, and this varied in different countries. In China, for example, for Di-Yin, fewer distinctions

were drawn between languages than in other countries, while for Ffionn and Therese, there were current as well as historical distinctions drawn.

Childhoods speaking a minority language in Britain were mainly constructed as living in a doubled world, with home and the outside world differentiated through language. Speaking a minority language was signified as a marker of difference, and experienced as problematic in the context where individuals' claims to be a dominant speaker had been refused – only Justine's claim had been successful. Individuals' racialisation impacted differentially on the meanings of language speaking and on their identity claims, and I look at this in the following chapter. Like the writers, these individuals had been preoccupied with the differences in their contexts and their different sense of themselves. Encountering a context which had offered resources to validate their sense of their multiplicity was identified as important, but Konrad who had not experienced this, remained troubled by his sense of himself as different and problematically doubled. An important aspect of these narratives was what individuals had experienced as external demands, and how this was mediated differently for individuals.

The individuals who had experienced a sudden unpredictable loss of home as children and had to learn a new language in a new country had also struggled with being positioned as outsiders or inferior and with their language signifying their difference. However, they had the added task of making sense of a traumatic disruption and loss. Articulacy in the new language was seen as a way to survive but their sense of outsidership was ongoing. Two of the three moved countries for a second time, which had provided a third language and a context which had resolved their troubled subject positions. They had constructed a different sense of their multiplicities and of 'home' that was unconnected to place, and both had relearned their first languages. Cato was still organised by his sense of displacement, the loss of his first language identity connected to his lost home.

Like the writers of the autobiographies, all of these individuals had constructed themselves as doubled or multiple in some way, and I go on to examine this further in the next chapter. And like the authors, most of those whose sense of doubleness had been problematic during their growing up, had found a context through which they had come to experience themselves differently, although several individuals struggled with ongoing tensions in their identifications. These contexts seemed to provide relational and discursive resources through which individuals could claim, make connections and use their multiplicities differently.

Constructions of adulthoods living in a new language

Eighteen of the twenty four research participants had moved countries and changed languages in their adolescence or adulthood in a variety of circumstances. Many of these individuals had moved for education or work opportunities, constructed as choice, while some had moved because of difficult circumstances, escaping occupation or war. A few individuals had found themselves unable to return to their countries of origin for political reasons. For several individuals, this move had been their second change of language and/or country. In this section I examine the meanings give to these changes of language and context, and how individuals constructed themselves in relation to these.

A number of individuals had constructed their move as having enabled them to leave behind difficulties, although this was not necessarily an explicit decision at the time.

Estelle had come to Britain from France at age 19 and now viewed this as a strategy to escape difficulties.

Estelle Because I think that for me, leaving France was wanting to leave a bit of my life behind. There was a part of me really who wanted to start again.

CB Do you think the English helped with that?

Estelle Yes, most definitely.

Sonja also came to Britain in her late adolescence from Sweden and thought this had enabled her to change.

It was one of the attractions at the time - speaking a different language and living in a different country allows you to be a different person.

Ursula, a German woman, who came to Britain in her early twenties, also constructed this as enabling her to develop in ways that had not been possible previously. She described her childhood as brutal, because her mother had severely physically abused her, and she herself had been defined as incompetent and to blame. She now considered that living in English had allowed her to take a different position.

Because I know I am different from what I used to, how I used to be. [. . .] I am, (2) I don't know, it seems so odd, but it is very much related to me being me, and me being a person who can speak. I think that was it, because as a German, I could never speak. I think that's what it is.

Ursula viewed living in a new language in a different country as having provided a way to disconnect from her relationship contexts and the meanings developed within them.

I did all the development work in English. I mean I did everything in English, because I completely disconnected myself.

Estelle had found that English enabled her to express herself differently from the way she had been able to do so in French.

Mmm, I think sometimes it's easier for me to speak English about (2) I always remember that thing where, you know, when I started speaking English I could swear. (laughs) I could say really terrible words.

Speaking English had been experienced as releasing Estelle from constraints she had experienced in French. Henka who had moved to Britain at age 30 from Poland, thought speaking English had made her bolder in her relationships.

I would go further, I might be more intimate in certain things in English, because they would feel so uncomfortable. It's a foreign language. [. . .] it's kind of artificial. In Polish it would be very disclosing. [. . .] in English, it is this artificialness that the, the, the, that I've learned the meaning of the word, that gives me, you know, more of eh, um, gives me more courage to use it. I'm not really detached from it, emotionally, but in a way I am. And as if, in Polish language I grew up with those words, they got, you know, like a flesh and body and soul meaning, in a way, you know so, not just to me but all the other eh, Poles, and in English it's a way of communicating, whichever way I look at it.

Henka constructed English as enabling her to take more risks, because it carried different kinds of meanings for her, and like Estelle, this meant she could bypass usual constraints. Paradoxically because the words carried less emotional meanings, she risked using them to create more emotional meaning and have more effect in her relationships.

For Sonja, the difference of language concerned others' responses to her as an English speaker. She recounted an incident when someone had mistaken her for a middle-class person, which became a 'marker' that she was able to construct herself differently in English.

I think that's how I learned I could be someone different. It meant that you couldn't make assumptions about me in the same way as you could about somebody brought up here.

Sonja thought that she was able to develop a different self-narrative in English than had been available to her in Sweden because of class and other expectations. Sonja constructed this as an opportunity to escape family and cultural constraints.

These individuals had constructed their move into a different language and context as enabling them to change. They had lived the idea that "you can move and start again, begin a new life". These moves encompassed a change of country as well as language, but individuals designated language as crucial to the process of experiencing themselves differently. Learning to live in a different language had been experienced as a freedom from constraints, individual, familial and/or cultural, which they viewed as enabling them to develop alternative narratives of self. Away from familiar ways of being and doing, individuals drew on new linguistic practices, and constructed themselves anew.

Those who had moved countries as young adults described processes of learning a new language, which those who had learned their languages as children could not comment on. Ihsan described this as a process of observation and imitation.

The best way I can put it, it was very exciting, number one, incredible exciting, sort of you never got tired of it because there was always something new to discover and go through and sometimes you get tired because you felt you were acting and pretending and such like, that's how I felt. [. . .] Yeah, English person, I am very good at it and end up having same sort of gestures and hand movements, and like always sort of monitored people in this.

Ihsan connoted learning English as pretending to be an English speaker, and all that this entailed, including the imitation of gestures. This process meant trying out words, which “existed in other people’s mouths” as Bakhtin put it, and embodying them. Using the same performance metaphor as developed in the autobiographies, Ihsan saw himself as having performed an English identity. Lena described a similar process, learning through watching others, and trying to be like other speakers.

I think I'm more polite and kind of (indistinct) careful in doing things and relating to people. [. . .] And I suppose I try to be like the English.

Lena reported that she felt very unsure of how to be an English speaker and was concerned that she might transgress rules or challenge values, and therefore relied on her own stereotypes of Englishness. These notions of performing stereotypes echoed similar constructions used by Onno and Konrad, and the autobiographical writers.

Effects of being rendered inarticulate in a new language had had profound effects on individuals’ sense of themselves. However Henka connoted her inarticulacy in language as useful to her relationship.

But then I thought, perhaps it's got its good sides, because where you cannot communicate you do not make mistakes, the limitation makes life easier, you might. [. . .] If you go for really necessary things, and vocabulary, and the explanation of solving of a, existing problems that in front, that are in front of you, and happening today or tomorrow, and with, with your limited language, or you just develop the language for that purpose. You solve the problem, you do not think too far, too much, and you do not go into analysing people's characters and feelings too deeply, because you, you haven't got the language, oh yes, you know. Sometimes not being able to communicate everything, I think it's got its good sides to it. [. . .] Not, not, that I don't feel limited at all, I'm just, I just feel happy that there are certain things that I do not analyse. I try, I do not try to foresee, or you know, just think about it even theoretically, because it can make your life complicated.

Henka framed her limitations in English as keeping a focus on essentials in her communications, which helped her conduct her relationships in more helpful ways.

Ihsan and Lena both described a shift in their sense of themselves in the new language over time. Ihsan had constructed this as giving up his performance.

After sort of one year I decided not to do that any more. [. . .] About a year yeah, and after it was stupid, I felt, that's not me, you know, why am I doing this, be yourself and try to be yourself, bring your own character in and carry on, so that's what I did. [. . .] I just got tired, something, actually I think what it was, I got tired in my mind I think, mentally I got tired of it, and gradually I said, I can't bear it, so let's stop.

Lena also referred to being more herself now in her use of English. This was a change from speaking others' words and performing their attitudes to constructing one's own meanings. Markers of fluency had been important, noting moments such as dreaming in English, or no longer translating for themselves. Considering themselves as fluent, individuals could then perhaps trust themselves in the language and own it.

Concluding discussion

In this chapter I have examined research participants' accounts of living in several languages in a number of different circumstances. In these diverse situations, individuals had to manage different tasks concerning their language speaking.

Constructions of speaking several languages in childhood and young adulthood mainly differed from each other because of differences in the meanings of speaking several languages, as well as the different resources available to children and adults. Children rarely experienced a move of country and change of language as choice, because adults make these decisions or other circumstances force the move. Because the moves of country and change of language had mainly been constructed as a choice and opportunity by adolescents and adults, this impacted on the experience of and meaning given to the new language. Learning a new language was experienced as changing individuals, but these differences were generally experienced as helpful. New languages were constructed as offering a new and different identity, new ways to express oneself, an ability to take risks, and a helpful disruption of assumptions of class. Where childhood narratives had addressed a preoccupation with differences of language and contexts, and a struggle to claim a sense of belonging or a satisfactory identity position, adults, on the whole, appreciated the differences a new language offered them, even if they experienced racism and discrimination.

Some individuals also constructed learning to live in a new language as an adolescent and adult as a performance. This is the same metaphor used in the autobiographies for learning a second language, and in some of the childhood narratives. In order to perform themselves in their new language, individuals described drawing on stereotypes as scripts, until they found a way to ‘own’ the language differently.

Meanings given to language speaking varied considerably in the range of contexts in which individuals lived, and were related to power and status. However all of these individuals had to contend with a different sense of themselves in each of their languages. This was a more problematic task for children than for adults who had more resources available to make sense of themselves. The importance of individuals encountering a context, which could provide relational and discursive resources through which they came to own their multiplicity, was highlighted.

In the next chapter, I go on to examine in more detail the ways in which individuals constructed themselves as speakers and the links with their constructions of their languages. I explore the performance metaphor further in relation to the use of stereotypes.

Chapter 8 -CONSTRUCTIONS OF SELF, LANGUAGE, POWER AND

HYBRIDITY

In this chapter, I examine the research participants' constructions of themselves as speakers and of their languages and how these are interlinked. I connect this with the ways the autobiographical writers constructed themselves. I go on to discuss the intersections of languaged identities and power relationships, and examine the place of language speaking in racialisation processes. In the context of unequal power relationships, I consider some hazards of cross language communication identified in these accounts. Lastly I identify and discuss ways in which individuals have made use of their differences of language, what I have called their strategies of hybridisation.

Constructions of self

Like the writers of autobiographies, all the research participants experienced themselves differently in their different languages. And similar to the authors, many of these individuals drew on constructs of doubleness in their accounts. I examine these usages and other constructions of self below.

In the childhood narratives, research participants drew on the notion of living in a doubled world, different languaged worlds of home and the outside world, in which they experienced themselves differently. Several individuals posited this sense of doubleness as problematic for them as children because it positioned them as different from others in every context. When their claims as dominant language speakers had been refused, these individuals had constructed themselves as outsiders. Individuals' sense of their doubleness had been structured through the unequal relationship between their languages and through processes of othering.

One interpretative repertoire drawn on by research participants to construct themselves was that of a core identity. Individuals, who had moved language and country as young adults, commonly referred to this notion of themselves. Di-Yin, who had grown up in China, and moved to the United States at age 19, saw her English and Chinese languages as encompassing different and separate worlds, and defined herself as dual, with a Chinese 'core'.

I'm not very religious, but uh (2), maybe it's quite English, because uh being not religious and doing science is part of a religion, and science is a very Western, so spiritually um (1) I have this romantic idea which is quite English. On the other hand a lot of um, spiritual, a lot of the life principles, like the goal of life, you know, what I'm after, is (2) was formed from my Chinese background. [. . .] But I see my difference in that the root is not English, something I formed long before the English speaking days (laugh).

Core identity here is the first language identity, and informed by the most important values, and her second language identity is connected to her working life.

This construction of a core identity could create dilemmas for individuals attempting to manage the differences of language, of different time periods and of different places.

Sonja, for example, described this as follows.

Different bits of my life, first in Sweden, second half here. [. . .] It was the difference between being there and here, difficult when I went back to visit. [. . .] Make an effort to hold things together, the core is the same, it's me, it probably (2)

but by itself it created some tension within me, and I suppose then in relation to others.

Drawing on this conceptualisation of a core identity created tensions related to perceived demands or longings for coherence, in the face of discontinuities. So Maria for example, who identified herself as multiply identified, asked me as interviewer for feedback concerning her account.

I don't know whether it's too incoherent. I would like feedback at some point about whether I do have a coherent story about these experiences

Such uncertainty and concern about fragmentation may relate to the privileging of coherence in narrative forms, and I will come back to this point.

Individuals who had moved countries, like the writers, often constructed themselves as having different identities, separated by time and place. So for example, Estelle described this chronological separateness as follows:

I've lived half my life in both countries now, so (.) and I'm just thinking that I've lived a child's life in France and an adult's life in England. I've never had a job in France. I've never worked in France, and sometimes I feel really, and I have a whole of lot of experiences I've never had in France and sometimes I feel I haven't got a language for it because I haven't lived it.

This conceptualisation was accompanied by a preoccupation with challenges of connecting the discontinuities of time periods and places, made further problematic because of

language differences and translation difficulties, mirroring the writers' concerns. Ihsan who came to Britain when he was 20 from Iran, drew on a similar conceptualisation.

So you have that little amount of language and then you come out and then you go to another culture, another language, so you leave whatever you left behind, so whatever you go back to, quoting, this it's that way. I'll tell you about capsule, time capsule, it's there, that's the time capsule. [. . .] And somebody actually did tell me that, I speak with them in Farsi and they said to me, "you sound like a young man."

Notions of language which did not evolve, are interlinked with those of identities that did not evolve, which became fixed. Living in a new language was considered as not impacting on a first language identity. Ursula, who came to Britain from Germany in her early 20s, used such a construction of different languaged identities, separated by time and place.

But all the understanding that I had gained in English, I hadn't transferred to the German me at all. That was still the, the troublesome teenager locked away into a world of her own there.

Ursula, as others did, identified a preoccupation with attempting to find ways to connect the different periods of her life and senses of herself.

A different type of construction was the notion of an alternative imagined identity, a kind of shadow identity. Renata who had visited her country of origin became aware of the identity she might have acquired in her first language, constituted through different values and attitudes.

The sense of a doubled identity varied for individuals depending on how different the values, attitudes and conceptualisation of subjectivity embedded in their languages and contexts were.

If each language embedded a different identity, individuals considered that they were compelled to leave out aspects of themselves in each language, similar to Sante's construction in his autobiography. Renata spoke of this:

You're, what you are, doesn't entirely overlap. When I was speaking German I was a slightly different person than when I was speaking English. I had a very strong sense of that for quite a long time. [. . .] I had the sense that there were certain things about myself in English I couldn't communicate to my friends in Germany and vice versa, when I came here, there were bits that I felt were missing.

This construction of doubleness with its implications of leaving out aspects of self had advantages as well as disadvantages for individuals in their relationships.

Research participants also drew in their accounts, on the notion of performing identity. Di-Yin described presenting herself differently in her different languages.

Usually I appear much more modest when I speak Chinese as well, so um, to be less conspicuous, I will be more modest than I usually am. In that case, then maybe, being modest also means, erase all my Western manner, [. . .] but on the other hand, when I speak English, my Chinese manner is easily recognised. It is very difficult for me to erase my Chinese, I do have some residual Chinese manner, especially, um, being, um sometimes I, you know, like in this professional role, you

need to be a little more aggressive, especially my world is filled mostly with men,
and I find I need to make an effort to be aggressive.

Di-Yin constructed both her identities as 'performance', working to erase Englishness in Chinese, and requiring effort to be English. She saw English as enabling her to perform aggressiveness which was not considered permissible in Chinese culture.

Yes speaking English helps me be more aggressive.

Notions of authenticity also came into play in relation to constructions of doubleness.

Renata drew on this idea.

And for a long time I suppose I felt more genuine when I was in Germany than when I was in England. Then I felt I was slightly less genuine, as if it was not quite me. I don't have that sense anymore.

Languages were conceptualised as engendering different identifications for the speaker.

Venjamin spoke of the effect of switching between his languages.

When I'm in England I would always speak of Israel, I would never say 'us' or 'we'.
So I would be a detached observer. [. . .] Whereas when I'm in Israel and speaking in Hebrew, I sometimes slip into saying 'we'.

A switch of language brought about a switch in Benjamin's sense of himself, although this may also have been evoked by context. Constructions of self also function as claims of identity in interactions with others. Such constructions of identity can be considered as drawn on in relation to a particular imagined audience, or to make political claims. Lena,

who had come to Britain in her early 40s to escape the war in the Balkans, defined herself as a Yugoslav, in opposition to the redefining of identities in the conflict in the Balkans, and perhaps an easier claim to make outside of the ex-Yugoslavia.

Many of these conceptualisations of self do not directly draw on the construct of a doubled identity in the way the autobiographies do, but their usages embed notions of doubleness.

Another construction of self drawn on by research participants was that of multiplicity and broader identifications - “belonging to a broader world”. Such constructions were often related to a sense of no longer belonging anywhere, following a move of country, as much as related to speaking several languages. Maria drew on this idea.

I think it gives you a position of a kind of citizen of the world really.

Individuals moved between constructing their multiplicity as advantageous, as creative, and retaining uncertainty about its coherence.

The ways in which individuals drew on constructions of self and their ease with the multiplicity which their languages engendered were linked with their access to resources. Those who had lived childhoods in several languages identified encountering contexts which had enabled them to construct themselves as multiple more helpfully, following periods of struggle around their identity. For Quinlan her multiracial multilingual peer group had provided this validating context, and she defined herself as multiple.

When you come to think about it, you have to switch from being both, to being, to separating them all the time, depending on who you're with, what situation you're in.

In this section I have examined how research participants drew on a range of constructs of self in their accounts in relation to their experienced differences in each of their languages. In these accounts of childhood, individuals drew on a construct of doubleness linked to living in a doubled world and constructed themselves as outsiders.

Individuals drew on a range of versions of doubleness, referring to ideas of ‘core’ identity signified as first language identities, ‘performing’ an identity in relation to learning to live in a new language, and ‘authenticity’ in a first language, and in a subsequent language when they had come to ‘own’ it. Another construction in use was that of a ‘frozen’ identity in an earlier time period, different place and a first language which had not evolved.

The implications of versioning the self through these different constructions of doubleness were various. Doubleness implied challenges of interconnection. Doubleness entailed a sense of contingency, a shift of subjectivity in language. Perceptions of ‘performance’ unsettled relationships with the self and others. Constructs of doubleness involved a sense of partiality, viewed as troubling and strategically advantageous.

Constructions of self also functioned as personal and political identity claims. Claims of authenticity and of a core identity were particularly made in response to disqualifications. Constructions of self were sometimes connected to place, and a sense of ‘home’, while others questioned the idea that identities were defined in such ways, holding identifications across countries as well as across languages.

Perhaps most striking was the fact that few individuals drew consistently on postmodern notions of subjectivity, of their identities as multiple, fragmentary and constantly in flux. I explore these constructions of self and their implications in the concluding chapter.

Constructions of language

All the research participants drew distinctions about themselves as speakers of their different languages, and in this section, I examine how their constructions of themselves were interlinked with the ways in which they connoted their different languages. I look at how the meanings of their languages were constructed, locally as well as drawing on stereotypical notions. When individuals became parents they drew on constructions of language in relation to their language choice and I critically examine this in Chapter 9.

A common distinction, which individuals drew between their languages, was related to emotional expressiveness, with first languages mostly connoted as the language for intimacy, similar to the autobiographies. This meaning was constructed in the context of other languages, where it came both to signify and engender closeness. Ffionn saw Welsh as her “security blanket” in an English language context. Related to its connotation as the language for emotional expressiveness, was its signification as the language of authenticity. For example, this was drawn on by Maria.

I started praying in English for their welfare and then I kind of switched to Spanish, it was a kind of sense of, I don't know if it would be more powerful but it would be perhaps more genuine or something.

First languages were constructed as owned by the individual. Naadir who came to Britain when he was 18, described Arabic, his first language as follows:

It's easier and closer if you say it in your own language because it means different. You put it with a flavour. [. . .] More intimate. So it becomes much closer.

This construction positioned individuals' subsequent languages as other people's languages. First languages were constructed as the language for play. For example, Konrad described this distinction.

I like speaking Polish. And I don't mind not speaking well and I rather enjoy getting things wrong and creating my own. [. . .] To be silly and, and provocative, which I'm not in English at all. [. . .] I would love to feel more, more articulate and, and, a lot of the time, I just feel stupid actually in English.

This construction related to difficulties individuals experienced with humour in subsequent languages. These difficulties with humour, connoted as personality trait, impacted powerfully on constructions of speakers - Ffionn saw herself as "harder", Onno as "more distant and serious" in English.

Languages were associated with a style of speaking, with a particular embodiment, use of gestures. Bernard described his first language as facilitating his expressiveness linked to a physical style of speaking.

Because French is a much more natural language to me, my, how can I put it, the way I express myself when I speak French is more lively, more um, yes more lively and expressive than if I speak English. [. . .] Yes. I've got a different behaviour, even with body movement. I probably use my hands, and my whole body would be a lot more lively and expressive than when I speak English. [. . .] I mean it's as if more subdued in English.

Here, a construction of a first language as 'natural' is also made, the language in which individuals are positioned unselfconsciously, in contrast to their subsequent languages. Experiences of inarticulacy or a sense of inauthenticity in a second language impacted on individuals' constructions of themselves as speakers, although others saw their second languages as allowing a greater freedom of expressiveness because rid of constraining associations in their first language which interconnected with a view of themselves as taking more risks as a second language speaker.

Languages acquired meanings for individuals from local usage. As Ffionn's parents who spoke Welsh had always argued in their second language English, it became associated with aggressiveness, which contributed to her construction of herself as harder as an English speaker.

Individuals also drew on stereotyped notions of language and of speakers, which informed the way they became speakers. Onno constructed himself as a speaker through stereotypical ideas of Englishness, and the value he placed on English as a status language, as noted earlier.

I think it's about my sort of preconceived ideas about English people, and that they aren't expressive and they are much more sort of aloof or a bit stuck up and that kind of thing. And I know that those things are stereotypes but I think maybe it's also going back to the way I grew up, that for me, English has always been better than Afrikaans in a way.

Such constructions were experienced as a constraint. 'Learning culture' was not straightforward.

Individuals also drew on commonly held discourses concerning their languages, as Renata did in delineating her differences as a speaker.

I think the German way of relating is more direct than the English way of relating and for a long time I suppose I felt more genuine when I was in Germany than when I was in England, then I felt I was slightly less genuine, as if it was not quite me. I don't have that sense anymore.

And Maria considered English a precise language, concise and clear, in which people said what they meant, were reliable, and in which she was taken seriously, in contrast to the indirectness and extremes she associated with Spanish. These constructions drew on discourses of Germanness and Englishness, Spanishness and Englishness, positioned in relation to each other. Like Renata, Dorfman had posited his languages' different grammatical constructions as determining different speaker positions, contrasting the Spanish impersonal passive form, 'it happened' with the English, 'I made it happen'. Such Whorfian hypotheses of how grammatical differences compel speakers to be different are interlinked with and may create stereotypical notions of languages in relation to each other. Perhaps out of context, away from ongoing dialogic interactions, individuals shift to constructions which belie the diversity and contestation of discourse use and cultural practices.

Languages embed different conceptualisations of subjectivity through which they were experienced as constructing speakers. Di-Yin described concepts of identity, emphasising role and relationship laid down in cultural sayings in her first language, different from English.

The Chinese concepts often relate to things, a lot of proverbs, you know, a lot of um things about what you should be when you're thirty years old.

Certain ways of speaking came to signify a particular identity, when languages encoded different values and attitudes. Quinlan described this difference between English and Cantonese.

Whenever I say 'please' or 'thank you' it makes me feel very English (laugh).
Because it's not something we do, it really isn't.

Some research participants drew few distinctions between languages they had learned when they were very young, when those around them made few distinctions.

Meanings of language shifted over time for individuals, in relation to context and in relation to each other. Renata's account described the contradictory meanings language could carry:

Hungarian was also the language of the refugees with whom we were surrounded.
[. . .] And of course later on it had all these negative associations as well with a lot of, I mean, not all the refugees adapted well. I was never very keen on Hungarian culture. My parents weren't either. They were always very keen that we should integrate into German. [. . .] Yes. But at the same time I had memories of a very carefree and quite nice and privileged childhood.

Meanings of first languages were affected by loss of fluency, which when noted, distressed individuals. This became equated with a sense of loss of the past, and of a loss of

connectedness with culture. Bernard reported that he was no longer fluent in either of his languages and associated this with a sense of dislocation.

I have got to think about it to express it in English better. Again, I've got the same problem expressing it in French. I am between two languages, I feel now.

Loss of fluency in a first language had relational consequences, making it difficult to evolve relationships over time. Individuals became positioned as 'foreigners' in their languages of origin, through their substitution of words and grammar constructions from their second language, which others interpreted as an identity claim.

Language meanings shifted in response to socio-political changes. Onno and Xandra struggled with others' connotations of their first language as oppressive and evil. The meanings of German changed for Renata following the unification of Germany and rise of racism.

Constructions of language were impacted by experiences of continually translating between them. Quinlan described her experience of her languages as follows:

It's, so that's when I say, when I think, I don't think in any language, because they're so distinct, but then they're together for me as well, and I can't (tearing sound) them apart, so it's very weird (laugh).

Operating between languages was constructed as a positioning in itself, in which languages could not be separated.

The meanings given to individuals' languages impacted profoundly on their construction of themselves as speakers, and these meanings were forged in local contexts as well as constructed by drawing on commonly held discourses, or impacted on by socio-political changes. Explorations of the meanings of an individual's languages provided salient gauges of their sense of themselves as speakers.

Intersections of languaged identities and power relationships

Some research participants drew on a notion of 'natural' in their accounts. When ways of being are connoted as 'natural', their construction as such becomes invisible, as does their accomplishment.

The idea that only certain people have a 'natural' ability for learning language is prevalent in Britain, and has been promoted by much of the linguistics research on individual competence. It is the case that some individuals are drawn to learning languages and seem to have a particular facility. However, many people in Britain draw on this notion to warrant their monolingualism by constructing themselves as not having an ability for languages. A number of research participants made a point of defining themselves as not good at languages. All these research participants, like the writers, had learned their languages through necessity, highlighted most starkly in colonial contexts where power relationships overtly structured the necessity of language learning, but significant in all the accounts.

The interpretative repertoire of a natural ability for languages locates language speaking as an ability inside the individual rather than within social processes. It makes invisible the circumstances and power relationships that shape the ways languages are learned and used,

and the socio-historical conditions through which certain linguistic practices become dominant and legitimate.

Racialiation processes and language speaking

Meanings of language speaking and individuals' experiences of themselves as speakers were impacted by their racialisation and the ways in which they and their languages were positioned.

This had been particularly foregrounded in the accounts of Onno, Petiri, Wasan and Xandra of growing up in colonial contexts, in which the necessity of learning the colonisers' languages was an insidious part of colonising and racialising processes, and the meanings of becoming English speakers were very different due to their racialisation and positioning.

Research participants who had grown up speaking minority languages recollected that this positioned them as different, and often as 'inferior'. They had avoided speaking their first languages outside the home, wanting to claim an identity as a dominant language speaker. Individuals' racialisation had played a crucial role. Quinlan's account illustrated these processes particularly well. Her parents had a take-away shop, and Quinlan had sometimes worked there.

I actually worked on counter for a little while where my parents have a take-away, and uh, a man came in, a Caucasian man came in, and I said, "can I help you there please", cause by that time, I had completely lost my Cantonese accent, and I have a relatively ok English accent. He took two giant steps back and said, "oh my God, you're not Chinese". I found that very, I didn't know whether to find that offensive,

whether to find that, it was very difficult to take in. Because I guess um there are a lot of preconceptions about Chinese English, they always speak with an accent, they always work in take-away shops and uh, I think this man was, I don't think he was intending to be offensive, it was just pure ignorance. I don't mean it in a derogatory way.

Such incidents, where Quinlan's fluency in English was viewed as incompatible with her racialised identity position, were common, and these had been repeated throughout her years of schooling:

She [teacher] came up to me and she said "if you need any help with your English, or if you need any help with", just this, this preconceived idea that because I'm Chinese, I can't, and then I've had English teachers who are in total disbelief that my mother tongue isn't English. Just like, "how is that possible?" Ugh, ugh. I mean it's something I've had to deal with all my life.

Quinlan had never had her articulate-ness in English or her bilingualism taken for granted as unremarkable. Her language speaking was a site of her contested identity. Wasan's fluency and identity had similarly come under question continually. His fluency and accent were signified as English middle class, and he was often assumed to be white, through exclusionary definitions of Englishness. Such challenges to identities around language speaking due to racialisation were ongoing.

Those who came to Britain as adults addressed the impact of their racialisation and positioning on their sense of themselves as English speakers. Naadir posited acquiring fluency as crucial to his ability to challenge stereotyping and racism.

If you don't know the language you can't survive. In any aspect, in every aspect. [. . .] First of all the most important thing is self-confidence, you have confidence in yourself to talk, to argue, to ask for your rights, to er, speak of your mind. So I felt definitely different, I felt human.

A sense of fluency provided linguistic resources to challenge racism effectively and recursively confidence to use it in this way. Privileging fluency of language in a context of discrimination and racism, Naadir had become an interpreter for others.

Ihsan had dealt with the considerable hostility at his work in the building trade, where his identity was continually interrogated, by changing his name. He saw this strategy as having been successful and enabled him to deal with challenge differently. He reported that he had tried to get rid of his accent which still marked him as different, but had been unable to do so. Ihsan defined himself as Iranian-British.

For a while I was thinking British-Iranian but I've come to the point now you can never be British-Iranian because, whereas my daughter, she is British-Iranian.

There's a hell of a difference, I think so. She's going to grow up even going to have a stronger expression of face than I would have, she would be one hundred percent. I mean I can see among Asian and growing up here, I can see them in the street, young girl or young lad walk with the mother, a young lad, his face and her face are very, very different compared to the mother and the mother, you should see their face, they're more submissive and, sort of, like more face up in the air, almost like begging, and when you see the youngster the head is up, the back is straight, head down almost sharp, very sharp.

Ihsan presented himself as not able to claim being British-Iranian successfully, although his daughter will. The ability to make an identity claim successfully, and a sense of confidence were interlinked in this account. Petiri recounted that he now made a different claim of identity than he had previously in response to the questioning of his identity due to his racialisation.

Now I emphatically define myself as Zimbabwean. Whereas until recently if people said to me, “where do you come from?” not only did I take offence, but I would respond in very rude curt way, where I might say something like, “I come from Liverpool, how about you, where do you come from?” [. . .] Whereas now I'm quite happy, when someone says that [. . .] Sometimes you can misunderstand when people say “where do you come from”, they mean where's your house. So I tend to ask for clarification but not from a defensive position at all. I'm very comfortable with it. [. . .] and now I think to myself, I don't have to defend against that, because if the person is racist they're going to continue to be racist whatever I do, so they're more likely sometimes to change or to challenge their own beliefs or values about the other if I'm less defensive.

Very few white research participants addressed the effect of racialisation on their sense of themselves as speakers of a new language. Lena was rare in noting that although her accent marked her as ‘foreign’ and the neighbours in her small village kept instigating police checks of the family when they first arrived, her whiteness led others to assume she was English.

I'm sort of queuing for tickets at the railway station, and in the queue there are black people in front of me and then the gentleman next to me says “too small an

island, too many foreigners”. And I suppose because I'm white he probably makes an assumption, and should I say something now or should I just keep quiet?

Passing as English was double edged here. This man's racism addressed and implicated her as xenophobic as well as disqualifying her as a foreigner.

Differences of language and culture were constructed as advantageous. So for example, Bernard saw these as differentiating him helpfully, “not one of the masses”, although this meaning could shift to negativity. Adults constructed being an outsider as a helpful positioning, such as Therese.

I like the feeling that I'm not completely English, and I see people like thinking, “oh you have a nice accent, where are you coming from?” And it's nice. I like the being different but feeling home in it.

Therese did not refer to her whiteness as significant in the responses of friendly curiosity rather than exclusionary responses.

Others saw their difference as disadvantage in Britain. Henka who came when she was 30 experienced being in Britain as very difficult.

Nobody's interested in Poland, nobody thinks that they can learn anything interesting about, or from Polish person as such. [. . .] There is no interest in me, so, and that automatically in a way puts you down. [. . .] and from that time on my confidence was plummeting, yeah, and um, I've lost it nearly completely over here, over the years

For Henka, others' lack of interest positioned her as inferior, and she had found this difficult to challenge.

Individuals were positioned very differently as English speakers because of their racialisation. Speaking a minority language was a marker of difference but a white identity position protected individuals from having their identities and their language speaking continually brought under question. Very few of the white research participants owned a sense of this privilege, and many were preoccupied by ways they were positioned by their difference of language and culture.

Hazards of cross-language communications

Several individuals addressed misunderstandings which had arisen in their second language interactions. The prosodic aspects of speaking were identified as important in constructing meanings and misunderstandings. Misinterpretations of tone were important, as Sonja described.

People sometimes think I am cross or annoyed in English, something about tone of voice.

When the tone or emphasis from a first language was transferred to the second language, it often conveyed meanings very different from the speaker's intention. Xandra reported that people often misinterpreted her when she expressed herself in English:

Somebody hears something much stronger than I meant.

She constructed this as carrying over a more direct and passionate way of speaking from Afrikaans into English and given a different meaning by the listener.

Accent had the effect of disrupting meanings. Others could become preoccupied with this aspect of talk and ignore the content. Estelle saw her accent as key to the construction of her identity.

You see if I didn't have an accent I might feel very differently. I might actually forget I'm from France,

As noted earlier many of these individuals referred to difficulties with humour in their second or subsequent language. Therese's description of finding humour awkward in English was typical.

I still find joking extremely difficult, and I don't, I'm not fitting in with joking. I don't understand the jokes, and I become very annoyed about it, because I feel if I laugh, I don't understand it, and if they see me laughing without understanding it, I would be so humiliated (laugh), but not laughing and not fitting in.

Such difficulties were rarely considered the effect of speaking a second language, and were constructed as personality trait. Venjamin reported that he honed his skills in playing with words in English. He recounted a response to a talk he had given, when he had been asked:

“How come you're so witty, because foreigners are usually humourless, so how come you are witty?” (laughter)

Venjamin's ability to be funny unsettled hegemonic notions of 'foreigners' which may be why he enjoyed doing so. It also highlighted a function of the privileging of wit in Britain as an insidious and powerful way to disqualify 'foreigners'.

Misunderstandings occurred when individuals were fluent in English and their status as a second language speaker was missed. Quinlan described such an incident (an extract considered in relation to the construction of language).

One incident that sticks in my head was when I went to secondary school, um a P.E teacher kept asking me, "What's the magic word? What's the magic word?", meaning "please". In my household, we never have, mannerisms is considered unnecessary, because, it's sort of like, well we're your parents, we're expected to do this for you, why do you say "thank you". It's very, very strange and so, when I was taught English, mannerisms is something I picked up, so whenever I say "please" or "thank you" it makes me feel very English (laugh). Because it's not something we do, it really isn't. [. . .] I mean when that incident happened, I was about twelve I would say, I was at secondary school. And it just didn't click, it just didn't click. [. . .] By that time, my English was pretty fluent. I still had a bit of a Cantonese accent though, and uh (2) "What was the magic word?" and the teacher must have thought I was just being really difficult (laugh).

Because of Quinlan's fluency, the teacher was unable to comprehend that the question "what's the magic word" was meaningless to her, and saw her as deliberately belligerent. When second languages are 'read' as first ones, alongside a mismatch of assumptions about local indexical knowledge, serious misunderstandings may arise.

Prosodic elements of language had profound effects on meaning. These individuals had received feedback about others' misinterpretations, but the ease of miscommunications raise questions about how often these are left unexplored. In unequal power relationships, such misunderstandings can construct enduring identities.

Strategies of hybridisation

Except for Konrad, all the research participants, like the writers of the autobiographies, emphasised the advantages of speaking more than one language. Individuals claimed that a positioning in more than one language and culture gave them a "broader perspective" and a willingness to engage across differences. In this section I examine ways in which participants constructed these advantages. I identify their strategies of 'hybridisation'. Here I use Bakhtin's definition of hybridisation, as "the mixing, within a single concrete utterance, of two or more different linguistic consciousnesses, often widely separated in time and social space" (1981 p429).

In the participants' narratives the differences between their languages had been experienced as difficult to manage in childhood, and they had worked to keep these separate. There had been no possibilities for hybridity. However, most research participants reported that they had come to experience their different senses of self and the differences between their languages more helpfully, once their multiplicities had been validated in some way. They then developed ways of using these differences explicitly.

Venjamin had been acutely ashamed of his first language Arabic during his growing up in Israel, but in Britain where he had lost this sense of shame, he eventually started relearning Arabic and made use of it for his work.

My aim is to understand the dynamics of the Arab-Israeli conflict and to do that you have to get away from looking at the Arabs as the enemy and you have to look at both societies and how Israel's behaviour influences the Arabs and how Arab behaviour and Arab attitudes influence the Israelis, because there is a process of psychological misperception and misunderstanding which has always fuelled the conflict. So I try to look at both societies in their own terms and how they perceive the other one, and here knowledge of the language is very important.

Venjamin proposed that his knowledge of both languages involved in the conflict was crucial to his ability to forge new understandings about their inter-relationship. He made use of the dialogic between these two different languages and their perspectives, both of which Venjamin embodied as a speaker. What Venjamin did not discuss was how his engagement with both languages for his work may have enabled him to make different connections between his own polarities from the past on a personal level. "Double-voiced discourse is always internally dialogised" as Bakhtin pointed out (1981 p324). Venjamin's personal experience of these past polarities may have fuelled his desire to make different connections through his work.

Ihsan reported that there were instances when he made use of his two languages to help him to think through issues for himself.

Analysing, yes I analyse it in Farsi and feel I understand it in a different way than when I analyse in English, and then it does affect me. . . Yeah two different ways of thinking and looking at it, and it does help me in a certain way yeah.

Ihsan said that he had noticed that he would at times develop hunches about people or situations in Farsi, while he was speaking to them in English, as if his two languaged perspectives then operated at different levels in his interactions with others.

Xandra described a different kind of switching for herself, a switch from one language to the other in her internal language.

It was a physical like, you know literally changing channels, it was like changing, you know, turning the knob.

According to Xandra this had been a “profound physical experience” which had marked this moment for her, and she had begun to try to take note when she switched languages internally, and what it might indicate concerning her differential responses to individuals or situations. This internal code-switching generated an interaction between her different languaged perspectives for herself.

Petiri described a different strategy of using his differences. He saw himself as presenting different aspects of himself, strategically, to ‘fit’ with different contexts, aware that he held different views and attitudes in his different languages.

I can still have a conversation with somebody, even sometimes when I think to myself, I wouldn't do that. I've become very curious about it, but I know I'm being Western. I think, this is a Western concept, but when in Rome.

Petiri reported that at times he explicitly shifted his self-presentation, but now without feeling that he was disqualifying himself, as he thought he had done as a schoolboy in Zimbabwe. This presentation is what Bakhtin termed, a heteroglossic authorial position, maintaining different distances from a variety of languages in order to use them in ‘refracted’ ways and to work their interplay. Bakhtin coined the term ‘heteroglossia’ as the ability to refract intention through the differential use of different languages. He had developed the concept of ‘refraction’, a metaphor of light rays, to illustrate the ways in which authors take up other voices and already claimed territories, to produce their authorial discourses (Bakhtin 1981). Such positioning required Petiri to take a self-reflexive stance, an awareness of his relationship to his languages in their different contexts.

Lena described how the interplay of each of her languages, sometimes gave a perspective on the other, and highlighted “her own prejudices”. This allowed her to identify how she dealt in “ideologically freighted discourse” (Bakhtin 1981 p333), and she could make use of this strategy to achieve a self-reflexive position in her work.

Further ways to use different perspectives were identified by Renata who had come to appreciate a positioning of ‘outsider’, something she had previously considered as a loss.

I think being an outsider has got advantages and disadvantages. I mean the disadvantages are that you never really belong. [. . .] I could never really belong. I was sitting on the fence. That's the disadvantage, also an advantage because you come in from the outside. It's sometimes an advantage in getting jobs. I think I've got jobs because I was an outsider and was less aware of what the hierarchies are, and

didn't really care about them. [. . .] Sort of cut through things in a way. [. . .] There is an advantage in coming in from the side.

A number of research participants claimed that their ability to 'work' their own multiplicities enabled them to challenge dogma. Renata posited her own experiences as a refugee as informing her stance in relation to inequality and discrimination.

I probably am politically intolerant of nationalism and racism and those exclusive kinds of ideology, partly because of my experiences of my own I think. And I think it's made me a better psychiatrist, I suspect. [. . .] A lot of psychiatry has to do with difference, people being different, having different experiences. Just choosing that kind of area.

Justine also posited her ability to speak several languages as protective against racist attitudes. Maria constructed being positioned in two different languages and cultures as challenging her own ideas about certainty in helpful ways (as quoted earlier in the section on construction of self).

I think it gives you a position of a kind of citizen of the world really, because you can't take a position of knowing.

These claims made by individuals about the usefulness of the interaction between their different languaged perspectives concur with Bakhtin's proposal that the use of two languaged perspectives relativises consciousness and that this can decentre language and ideology.

Code-switching was another way individuals used the differences between their languages, a strategy of hybridisation at a different level. Several research participants described the way they switched languages for rhetorical purposes. This sometimes functioned as a claim of identity in their interactions with others.

Individuals incorporated particular differences from their other language. Lena described how she had introduced English expressions into her family conversations in SerboCroat.

During the weekends in the house I would speak SerboCroat all the time, but picking up here and there English words, and saying much more “thank you” and “please” than before. [. . .] That's one of the things I liked about um the language here and saying that even to tiny little kiddies, and when you say that, it affects you really, you start to appreciate what's been happening. It's not something we would do back home.

Lena's suggestion is that this use of English expressions in family conversations in SerboCroat created appreciation and impacted on family relationships.

Di-Yin and Wasan, whose languages encompassed very different ways of expressing emotion, had developed strategies of using their different languages for different purposes. Di-Yin presented herself differently in each language. Di-Yin saw English as enabling her to perform assertiveness / aggressiveness which was not considered permissible in Chinese culture. She also described experiencing different feelings in English from those she experienced in her Chinese languages.

Angry, yes, also in English. Especially in Chinese culture, being angry you should suppress it. So it's much easier to express it in English. So even if I don't need to express it, sometimes I keep it to myself, nevertheless I feel it in English (laugh).

Because Di-Yin could only express anger in English, she only experienced it in English. Her different languages (and cultures) named, differentiated, and 'allowed' different emotional states. This illustrated some of the processes of the social construction of emotions. As Volosinov put it: "it is not experience that organises expression, but the other way around – expression organises experience" (1986 p 85). Slobin (1986) proposed that we learn "thinking for speaking", to pick out salient features of an event, which are encodable in language. Di-Yin had learned "feeling for speaking" in English in ways that were different from the way she did so in Mandarin or Shanghai Dialect. Vygotsky's idea of the way speech becomes internalised as thinking could also be said to be demonstrated here. Di-Yin gave other examples of things she could only express in English.

It's partly in the language. For instance in Chinese you don't say, "I love you". You know it is a very strange thing to say and uh, so I don't say, "I love you" in Chinese, but I will say it in English. And even to this day, to my daughter, I never say, "I love you" in Chinese. If I want to say that, I will say it in English. Because it just feels so, like your skin feels weird to say that in Chinese.

The idea of what a language can compel you to say or not say is persuasive here. Di-Yin presented herself as acutely aware of the constitutive nature of language, of knowing that she feels and expresses herself differently in profound ways in each of her languages. Her sense of what her languages could and could not do seem to have engendered an 'ironic' stance to her languages, an ability to make explicit use of the differences between

languages for rhetorical purposes. Of all the research participants, Di-Yin commented on her use of her languages in the most self-reflexive way.

Wasan also saw his languages as embedding very different concepts and modes of expression and he reported that he used English to speak about feelings in his conversations in Gujarati.

And if it's more in terms of emotions and feelings, it's more likely to be in English.

I would have very few Gujarati words for expression of emotions.

He talked of incorporating untranslatable English words, such as “depressed” and “angry”, into his Gujarati conversations.

I would be talking Gujarati and then I would say, “I got angry” in English, and then

I would go back into Gujarati, or something like that

Within his conversations in Gujarati, Wasan would report in English that he had become angry, and it was apparent that he would not express anger in his interactions in Gujarati.

Wasan, like Di-Yin, talked of making explicit use of what each of his languages would ‘allow’ him to express, and of employing a mixture of his languages to address his differential experiences.

As well as using different languages to express different emotions, individuals brought their different languages into play for rhetorical purposes and made different identities salient in their interactions. Angela who had found her difference problematic during her childhood, reported that she began to claim her Italian identity in her adolescence, linked to a change in the status of Italians in Britain.

The association was like power, almost. It was a powerful thing. Like, people jokingly said, "I suppose you know people in the Mafia", and you'd say, "well if I did I wouldn't tell you". You know. So the secrecy (laughter) and we played on this, and the fact that you did, I wasn't going to tell them. (laughter) Cause they had this romantic idea of the Mafia, you know.

This was 'performance', a strategic usage of a particular construction of Italian identity, which echoed Phoenix's (1998) finding in her study with Tizard (1993) that black boys in Britain sometimes made strategic use of certain constructions of black masculine identity. This claim of identity, an active positioning of herself, challenged some of the earlier negativity Angela had experienced, when she had considered herself positioned as inferior.

Venjamin talked of claiming different identities for himself over time. As a young adolescent in Israel, he had defined himself as "a rightwing Israeli nationalist". After moving to Britain, his self-definition had changed from a "patriotic Israeli" to claiming an identity as a European. Currently he challenged rightwing Israeli policies, and he defined himself as a 'rootless cosmopolitan'. He talked of the different effects of presenting his views in Hebrew or English in Israel.

In Hebrew I'm probably seen as more aggressive and more provocative um, outside consensus, because it is not common for an Israeli speaking in Hebrew to use such strong language in condemning Israel.

The impact of Benjamin taking a critical position in Hebrew had a different impact on others from doing so in English, and taking this position in Hebrew may also have been a

different experience for Venjamin. He talked of the ways in which he made identity claims, and here I come back to the extract I examined earlier.

I find that I have problems with terminology when I'm in Israel. When I'm in England I would always speak of Israel, I would never say 'us' or 'we'. So I would be a detached observer. I may have strong feelings but here is the conflict and there are Arabs and there are Israelis and I'm not part of this dispute. I am commenting on it, I may be taking sides, but I stand outside. Whereas when I'm in Israel and speaking in Hebrew, I sometimes slip into saying 'we'. Even if I'm criticising Israel's behaviour I would say, "we were quite wrong to do that, we were the expansionists, we were the aggressors, it wasn't the Arabs who set the pace, but it was we who kept clobbering them on the head". And then I sometimes catch myself and say, "why am I saying 'we'? I should say 'you', 'you' are the aggressors".

Venjamin described changes in the way he claimed identity depending on the language he was speaking, as well as the context in which he is speaking. The question of whether he was seen to be Israeli or not, was heightened, because of the polarizations. He did not report these shifts as explicit decisions, but his use of language may be viewed as a rhetorical device to enable his critique to be accepted, to position himself as insider may make it harder to be discredited, despite his view that it comes across in a harsher way in Hebrew. As discussed earlier, a switch of language also engendered a switch in Venjamin's own identification. The interplay here was between his Israeli and English identities, with Venjamin's Arabic identification remaining invisible, perhaps because this would be seen to disqualify his position. Following Widdicombe's (1998a, 1998b) ideas about the ways in which individuals make their identities salient in interaction, Venjamin used Hebrew to make his identity as Israeli salient, in order to strengthen his critique, and then disingenuously, claimed an identity as outsider, "why am I saying 'we', 'you'", perhaps to

confound its use as rhetorical device. Although Venjamin described the way he changed terminology, he did refer to using this explicitly, unlike Di-Yin who reported that she switched languages strategically in her Chinese relationships.

There's a lot of good things in Chinese and a lot of bad things in Chinese. And I like to get the good things, and I don't like to get the bad things, and in order to get the good things I speak Chinese with them, and in order to avoid the bad things I speak English with them. So that's how I do it. Yes. So for instance, in Chinese, usually women are looked down upon, so if I'm dealing with Chinese male friends and I don't want to be looked down upon, I speak English. (laugh). [. . .] So, and also Chinese are very, very friendly. They are very, very willing to do something, because it's like a kinship type of thing, and sometimes, um, also, they feel like to help women as well, so sometimes when I need help (indistinct) then I speak Chinese. (laugh)

Di-Yin gave an account of explicit choices she made of which language to speak with whom in order to make an identity claim and in particular, to unsettle and challenge gendered interactions.

Ihsan too reported switching between languages in conversations with his brother in order to make use of their differences.

And I keep telling him, "don't speak in English, speak in Farsi to me, because that way you can express yourself in a general way about Iranians or parents, because we've still got parents", and I said, "don't speak in English about parents because. . . Because that way you and I can decide a better way for them, if you do it in English then you might as well alienate them and let them go. But in Farsi you come a bit

more connected, caring and let's decide better things for them." That's what it is and I often tell him, have a go at him, "don't speak to me in English, speak to me in Farsi. Decide about your family in this way."

Ihsan claimed that he persuaded his brother to speak Farsi in order to invoke cultural expectations of family relationships and to create family obligations. He worked to make his and his brother's identities as Iranians salient through speaking Farsi, and indeed, he declared as much to his brother. This was in contrast to Ihsan's different claim of identity at work through the change of his name to Sam.

Renata also talked of making identity claims differently depending on the context and in response to how others were trying to construct her.

Well I think the worse thing about it is that England is very prejudiced against Germans. And that is pretty unpleasant when you come, especially when I see myself as a left liberal German. And being sort of associated with the war is quite ridiculous and irritating. I suppose in a way I sort of re-adopted my Hungarian identity. Although internally I never felt that I was more Hungarian than I was German.

Renata used her identities as a resource, and made claims for strategic purposes to protect herself against hostility, although that did not always correspond to her self-definition. Her construction of identity was negotiated differently within different interactions. Renata suggested that her sense of her own identity had changed over time through living in English, although this did not match what she would want to claim.

I think I've probably become more English generally as a person, although I would never call myself English. I would never even take on English nationality, but one gets used to [. . .] You get used to a certain way of being.

Issues of claiming identity were complicated for Lena because of the dangerous politics of identity involved in the war in the Balkans to which she was passionately opposed. Lena continued to speak her first language and name it as Serbo-Croat, in the face of its evolution into different languages, Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian as part of nationalistic movements. Lena claimed an identity as Yugoslav, in opposition to those who have claimed singular identities and disowned their multiplicities. In Britain this claim also worked to disidentify her as Serbian, those constructed as responsible for genocide.

Oh there's a lot of media coverage which is saying that everybody hates us over there and they're horrible people over here. [. . .] I'm very, very sort of sensitive and paranoid initially I think once people realise who I am and my background no one will speak to me. I knew it would not be the case, but it's really hard to resist that.

Therese spoke of a different kind of self-presentation.

There's something nice about that, I feel, you're not really part, and it creates a mystery a bit, like, "where is she coming from, where is that coming from?" You can relate but you're not the same. I like that position.

Therese enjoyed the ambiguity of her presentation. Being multiply identified enabled her to position herself ambiguously but without stigma.

To sum up, like the writers of the autobiographies, almost all these individuals viewed their languages and their different perspectives as creative and helpful. Individuals had found ways to position themselves in their several languages in order to use the differences between their languages in their everyday lives. It allowed them to generate different perspectives from those with whom they were in interaction, and new perspectives for themselves. Some research participants noticed the interplay between their languages without setting out explicitly to use this, while others ‘worked’ the differences between their perspectives in explicit ways.

Individuals used code-switching between their languages and other rhetorical strategies to claim identities and make them salient. Individuals claimed both multiple and singular identities within their interactions and in different contexts, which depended on how others responded to them, and what they themselves wanted to accomplish. The ability to use several languages and their differences gave individuals a diverse range of linguistic resources to draw on in these ways.

Concluding discussion

All of the research participants’ accounts suggested that they experienced themselves differently in their different languages, and they drew on a number of constructions of self in relation to these differences. Individuals themselves drew on a construct of a doubled self, and I proposed that an idea of a doubled self emerged from other constructions in use. Individuals drew on notions of a core self, of performing an identity, and on notions of authenticity. They referred to frozen identities and memories linked to language which had not evolved. Constructions of self were also made salient in their interactions with others.

Languages and constructions of self were interlinked in complex ways. A language could hail a particular identity and sense of self. Research participants had developed different relationships to each of their languages, and constructed these differently. First languages were usually conceived as enabling expressiveness, while second languages were often experienced as introducing a distance of a kind. These differences were constructed in relation to each other, in relation to context and to the individuals' relationship in and to the language. These constructions of language were interwoven with individuals' constructions of themselves as speakers.

The meanings of language speaking were constructed in power relationships, and were contested as part of social struggles at local as well as wider social levels. Individuals' racialisation impacted on the ways in which they were constructed as speakers. The prosodic aspects of being a second language speaker and difficulty with humour had a significant impact on the construction of individuals and on their relationships, through misinterpretations and misreadings.

Individuals reported different struggles in relation to working their differences of language and senses of self. Being able to use their sense of multiplicity engendered by their languages to their advantage was part of an ongoing process. Switching between languages for themselves or in their interactions with others was one of the ways in which research participants used the differences between their languages, and I return to examine these strategies in the concluding discussion in Chapter 10.

Chapter 9 - LANGUAGE USE AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Two different perspectives on language use and family relationships were given in the interviews: one were interviewees' constructions of their experiences as children within their family of origin (12 out of the 24); the other, adults' views of their relationships in their family of creation. In the following section I draw on both of these perspectives to identify pertinent themes and constructions in the talk of family and language, with the aim to elaborate the complexities in family relationships when family members live their lives in more than one language.

Three significant areas were identified in the analysis concerning family relationships as follows: 1) language and power in family relationships, 2) parenting and language use and 3) claiming identity and creating alliances. I go on to examine some of the challenges families face in sustaining the speaking of several languages.

Language and power in family relationships

When children become more fluent than parents

Both clinical experience and research findings have indicated that there are significant issues for family relationships when children learn the dominant language faster than their parents, when families move from one language / culture to another (Burck 1997, Lau 1984, Papadapolous & Hildebrand 1997, Raval 1996). There are many reasons why children learn languages faster than their parents, perhaps one of the most important is that children are forced to go to school, a context where they need to communicate to survive, so that the necessity to learn is immediate. Children are usually constructed as less shy of trying out a new language and making mistakes than adults are. The younger the child the

more likely this environment will replicate something of their initial language-learning environment, the trial and error of continual use, rather than more 'rational' second language learning situations offered to older children and adults, in which formal aspects of the language are taught (Lamendella 1978). Children are often less organised by loyalty to their first language and culture than adults, which also impacts on the way they engage with a new language.

Angela, Cato, Konrad and Quinlan had all become more fluent as children in English than their parents, and Bernard addressed this issue from his perspective as a father whose children became more fluent than he was.

Cato who came to Britain age 7 with his mother as a refugee from Hungary, and Quinlan, who had moved to Britain from Hong Kong at age 5, had both been pushed into taking on adult responsibilities and forced into relating to the outside world for their parents because of their fluency. Both remembered this as very difficult. Cato became the translator for his mother, and had only recently constructed this as a common reversal of power relationships for children in this position.

I was thinking, you know, maybe some of the kind of contempt, and this and that difficulty I had with my Mum has some quite simple root, reason for it, that a lot of other people have experienced too, being thrust out and become responsible far too young. And I always blame, that's right, I always blame my Mum for making me so bloody responsible before I was old enough to do it. I think she had no choice, really. It wasn't really her fault. What else could she do? I was becoming better at the language. It wasn't just her making me do it. I would do it. I was probably asking to do it, because I wanted to show off anyway.

In this account, Cato reframed his remembered feelings of contempt and blame towards his mother, as the inevitable consequences for families moving language. He identified both the resentment and his enjoyment of the power being given such a position had entailed. Quinlan's recollection of translating for her parents who ran a take away restaurant was of being terrified.

Because you'd be put into a situation when you were 10 when you're translating for two adults. [. . .] There would be words that I wouldn't have understood in both languages, and so I'd go, like, "I don't really know how to do this", but you just struggle through. And uh, and at that age as well, you're just like intimidated by, by strangers first of all, and then having to speak to someone you don't know, and then having to translate for your parents, and uh it's a nightmare, (laugh) It is a nightmare. But as you grow older, now, I've lost that fear (1) It was fear, actually. [. . .] Even when it was on the telephone, like if we were making an order for something, I would feel very timid and very frightened and I shook, I physically shook when I had to do things like that. And as I've grown older, cause I've had to do it, and it's actually become a skill now that I've acquired because I've had to do it.

Quinlan constructed a 'trial by fire' developmental narrative, of very difficult experiences leading to competence in her languages and her translating. An increased sympathy over time with her parents' ongoing struggles in English and an awareness of her Chinese peers' loss of their Cantonese, contributed to her appreciation of her skills.

Both these accounts identified the stress and difficulty involved as children, when expectations of who should take responsibility in the family were disrupted through a move into a new language and culture. Cato and his mother had been made refugees, with

all the accompanying losses and upheaval, while Quinlan, as a young Chinese person had to manage exclusionary and racist responses which increased the stress of having to manage adult conversational settings. But there are differences of emphasis in their narratives also. Cato's highlighting of his past resentment of his mother related to his construction of his mother's responsibility, while Quinlan's emphasis on the advantages gained from her difficult experiences linked to her focus on her own difficulties. Quinlan had been able to share these experiences with her younger brother while Cato had to manage this on his own.

Konrad, born in Britain in a Polish speaking family had also become more fluent in English than his parents. He remembered helping his mother with her English speaking. His father who had a good knowledge of English had been very worried about not speaking well enough, and Konrad recollected feeling anxious about him.

I remember having enormously sort of emotional feelings about my father doing something wrong and being laughed at by somebody. And I think every child has that, you know, if your parent slips, or, or makes a mistake, or might be laughed at by somebody, you just want to swallow them up and protect them from it. I remember that feeling and that may have been to do with language as well. [. . .] going out with my father was like, I didn't really want people to know he was my father for some reason. I wasn't proud of him for some reason, but now we're also going onto deeper psychological problems.

Konrad constructed his lack of confidence in his father as an indication of 'deeper psychological problems'. He had never considered this in the frame of language before, his father's uncertainty about living in a new language / culture and his own sensitivity to this. This was an unbalancing of power relationships in the family at a more subtle level than

the two earlier accounts. Interestingly Konrad himself was preoccupied with concerns about his own fluency.

Angela, who was born in Britain, had also become more fluent in English than her Sicilian parents, but reported it was because her parents spoke Italian and were very emotional in public which drew attention to their difference, which she had found difficult. Angela's parents had an Italian network which may have buffered issues of fluency for them and Angela.

Bernard gave an account as a parent whose children were more fluent in English than he.

Bernard They were very aware that they had a father who was from a different culture and they probably liked that and they still like this, being a bit unique in a sense. What I have noticed is both [my son] and [daughter] if I make a mistake in English they look at me and they say "Daddy, how long have you been in this country?" and it means, speaking English better.

CB So they correct you?

Bernard They correct me when I talk then in a way English and it's a U-turn and I then become shameful of not being able to express myself better or making a big mistake. I feel like I am in a stupid situation.

CB Are they only teasing you or?

Bernard It is almost shameful, yes. If they have their friends, they say "I think my father is a bit thick" you know. They say "excuse him" but they don't like it. It's like, "Daddy how can you?" I don't blame them because I should speak better.

Bernard reported that his children are embarrassed and contemptuous toward him about his language speaking, which echoed Cato's responses to his mother as a child. This reversed his relationship with his children, and their responses confirmed his own view that he should be more competent, which contributed to unbalancing this relationship further.

Children's greater fluency in the dominant language introduced contradictions into family relationships, in relating to the outside world. Children were put in positions of carrying adult responsibilities on behalf of their parents, and parents delegated power to their children in ways they may not have done in their first language context. Fluency in English conferred competency in most spheres outside the family, and indeed, non-fluency, the opposite, as in Bernard's account, connoted as 'thick'. Parents' struggle with learning the dominant language unsettled ideas in families about who should be competent, carry responsibility and hold power, and this intersected with the ways in which minoritised parents were positioned in relation to class. None of these parents were privileged enough to counter the loss of status experienced through their language difficulties and discrimination. Ideas about parents' competence could be perturbed in subtle ways because of their uncertainty in the new language and culture. As Bernard's account demonstrated, a parent could be organised by their children's contempt, which contributed further to the unbalancing of family relationships.

Adults recollected that they had been embarrassed, anxious, contemptuous or resentful of the way they had been positioned by their parents. These accounts suggested that as children they had experienced these difficulties as personal. Neither they nor their parents had addressed them as a common aspect of moving into a new language, and this new frame had enabled Cato and Quinlan to create more benign accounts than they had held as children, and for Konrad, reconsidering his view of his father in terms of language, had potential to generate a less problematic construction. An explicit consideration of the

effects of a change of language on family relationships may avoid these being translated into personal failures, and of ways in which parents can enable their children to maintain connection and respect for their culture of origin, and I come back to the implications of this for families and for family therapy in the concluding chapter.

Partner/marital relationships and language use

Differences in fluency had an effect on relationships between parents and children, and it also affected marital and partner relationships. Twenty out of the twenty four of these research participants were (or had been) in partnerships conducted in English, their second or subsequent language. It had been taken for granted that relationships would be conducted in English with an English-speaking partner, and research participants had also been living their lives mainly in English. This in itself testifies to the dominance and status of English in Britain.

When neither partner's first language was English, decision-making about which language to conduct their relationship in was an explicit issue. Questions about who would learn whose language were negotiated in relation to issues of power within the relationship, as well as in relation to differences in the status of the languages. I examine this later in relation to the claiming of identity.

The status of English was taken for granted in the other partnerships formed in Britain. A few individuals had set about learning their partner's language at the beginning of the relationship, and this had been important in itself, as Maria put it: "He went to classes and everything, and said all the right things", and for Renata, the fact her partner could speak her childhood language was one of his attractions. However, all of these relationships were conducted in English.

There was considerable variation in the ways research participants constructed their experience of conducting an intimate relationship in their second / subsequent language. Henka, Sonja and Venjamin thought they were able to be more intimate in their relationships in English, connected to a freedom from constraints they had experienced within their childhood languages. Maria felt that she was taken seriously for the first time in her relationship in English, in contrast to those she had had in Spanish. Ffionn had experienced her relationships in Welsh as too familiar, (too much like family) and appreciated the difference English introduced. Bernard and Estelle presented themselves as excited about engaging across differences of language and culture. Others found it more challenging.

Individuals' partners were portrayed as varying in how they constructed being in a cross language relationship. Sonja and Cato relayed accounts of their white English partners being extremely dismissive of their languages, which impacted on their sense of themselves and their relationship. They had both separated from their partners, perhaps because of these attitudes. As on the whole, little if any discussion about language seemed to have taken place in relationships, views about language may only have become apparent over time.

Interactions around issues of language sometimes became constructed as problematic in relationships. Therese's white English partner had learned a bit of Flemish but they conducted their relationship in English, and she described his impatience when she struggled with English words.

Sometimes I didn't use the right word and I tried to explain and that he would use them against me, like taking it literally, and I would say "you know I can't find", or

he would joke with it, like when I'm tired I could say "can you take that thing out of the thing", and he would say "oh my god, you with your things, name it", and that he is impatient about. And still now, I can have, when I'm tired and I don't find the word, and "that thing that you do that thing with it" (laugh) and that can cause some, some, that he gets like, "you're now ages here, you should know the word", and, or he can't do what I've asked him to do and he gets annoyed about it, because I don't explain myself properly.

In Therese's account the issue of her non-fluency in English becomes problematized and material for marital tension. However, she herself is presenting an 'unhappy incident' (Pomerantz 1986) here, a rhetorical device used to portray her husband as problematic. Differences in competence in English are likely to impact on whose versions of issues and events come to be accepted in the relationship. Therese (like Bernard) found it hard to refute the idea that she should be more competent in English. Maintaining an awareness of each partner's different positioning within English as a characteristic of the relationship seemed challenging. And it is likely that other issues in the relationship may get emptied into questions of language.

Ffionn referred to similar interactions in her relationship with her husband, which had acquired a different meaning.

Sometimes I can't express myself, and he says "Why don't you just say it?" and I say "Well, I just can't, because I can't say it in English, because I can't think of the words". I think he is beginning to realise what it is. It took him a while to understand that it is difficult for me sometimes to express in a language that I can't express in. So yes, so I think he understands.

Ongoing acknowledgement of difficulties of expressiveness in a second language avoided constructions of personal failure and problem. Ffionn believed that her husband's being Irish was crucial to his attitude to language. However, Ffionn reported that her husband often remarked on her lack of a sense of humour, which he constructed as a personal characteristic, rather than another effect of being a second language speaker.

Differences of language and of fluency in English in the relationship could also heighten individuals' sensitivities to the possibility of mistaken assumptions and misunderstandings, and focus them on the ongoing struggle to understand the other. Therese described beginning her relationship in a new language:

Emotionally you were more intense in trying to understand each other and there would be more effort to listen while the communication was difficult, and it was extremely tiring too.

This is a heightened awareness of the need to work between language differences in the partnership, of the need to struggle in language with the insufficiencies of language. Such awareness has led some authors (DiNicola 1997, Steiner 1998a) to propose 'translation' as a metaphor for all communication.

Several research participants talked of the usefulness of the honing down of talk in their second / subsequent language with a concentration on 'essentials'. Henka said:

Perhaps it's got its good sides, because where you cannot communicate you do not make mistakes, the limitation makes life easier. [. . .] if you go for really necessary things.

Iyer (2000) has argued that his inability to speak Japanese to his Japanese partner protected him from his own treachery with words and kept him focused on the struggle to communicate.

If we consider English as a first language and English as a second language to be different languages, coordinating these has the potential for creative dialogic interactions as well as the danger of producing monologic discourse, in which difference is dismissed and disqualified (Bakhtin 1986). In monologic discourse, differences, such as those of expressiveness, are problematised; in dialogic interactions, they are validated. And if relationships ignored an individual's other languages altogether, significant aspects of their experience might never be brought forth in the relationship. Individuals' relationships moved between resisting and being captured by ideas of English language dominance. There was some variation in the ways in which these relationships acknowledged and worked the differences of language and individuals' different positioning in English.

Parenting and language use

Issues of language within adult relationships became re-contextualised when individuals became parents, and raised questions concerning language not previously considered. In this section I identify these issues and analyse the ways in which women and men constructed their parenting and language use in different ways.

Seventeen of the research participants were parents and thirteen of these had parented for some of the time in their first / childhood language. As only three of these individuals were speaking this language with their partner at the time, it highlights the significance of this choice of language for their parenting. Women and men gave rather different accounts of their use of language for their parenting.

In the context of becoming mothers in Britain, most of these women had spoken their first languages to their babies from birth, and this was a significant aspect of mothering and language use. The two women, Angela and Therese, who had spoken English to their children positioned themselves in relation to reasons why they had not used their first languages.

Women drew on a range of constructions in giving their accounts of themselves as mothers. Sonja, who was living her life mainly in English when she gave birth to her first child, told me:

I talked Swedish to [my son] naturally when he was a baby.

Ffionn had found herself “having to talk” Welsh to her baby when she first picked her up after her birth.

When my daughter was born, in the hospital when she was born, and I saw her for the first time and I picked her up and talked to her, I had to talk to her in Welsh. I just couldn't speak to her in English and I still can't.

These women draw on a construction of the ‘naturalness’ of using their first language. Interlinked with this construction, is the way individuals constructed their first languages in the context of mothering. Renata described this:

With my children there was a kind of intimate vocabulary and that's probably why with [my son] I spoke a lot of German because that kind of tender playfulness came

much more naturally in German, playful, what you do with little children, that sort of thing.

Constructions of first languages in relation to mothering, as ‘intimate’, ‘playful’ and ‘emotionally expressive’ echoed the way first languages became constructed in the context of living in subsequent languages, as discussed previously. The use of a first language as a mother was also constructed as allowing access to aspects of self not available in the language learned later. Estelle said the idea that she would not be able to speak French with her children made her think

I would be like losing a part of myself in my relationship with my children.

Mothering in one’s first language was also considered a way to create a context for speaking this language when no other opportunities existed. As Estelle put it:

I probably talked French to him because I had no one else to talk to.

In this way, mothering could keep one’s language, feared to be atrophying, alive.

Interestingly research participants who used their second childhood language to parent constructed these in the same way as others did their first language, indicating a blurring of subjective distinctions between languages learned when young.

Neither Angela nor Therese spoke their first language to their children, and they talked about mothering in English as if they needed to defend this choice. Angela cited the lack of a supportive context, away from her mother and a Sicilian network, but also defined herself as lazy, for using English to parent.

I was lazy. But I couldn't teach them pure Albanian. I couldn't teach them pure Sicilian dialect. [. . .] And I couldn't even teach them Italian. [. . .] Because none of it was my mother tongue, you know

Angela positioned her account in relation to the idea that she should have used her 'mother tongue', and made use of this construct in a somewhat ambiguous way. It suggested that being brought up with many languages precluded having a 'mother tongue'. This may refer to a notion of the 'purity' of a language, in relation to which a mixture of languages is not considered proper. Cromdal (2000) has pointed out how this is a monolingual norm which has constructed ideas about 'bilingualism'.

Therese had found herself speaking English to her son from the moment of his birth, although English was still a very new language to her.

And my first words to the baby were English. [. . .] And I'm still annoyed with that, because I started to speak English already, so I adapted so quickly to the environment that it was not natural anymore to speak Dutch to the baby who was born, and therefore I have always spoken English to the children.

Therese used an idea of having assimilated too quickly, which disrupted the 'naturalness' of mothering in one's first language. Therese constructed herself as mistakenly privileging assimilation, indicating a change in her perspective over time or some tension in her self-account, because she presented herself as someone who challenged rules and conventions, with which this account did not fit so easily.

These accounts indicated women positioned themselves and were positioned in relation to the idea of the 'mother tongue', that one should mother in one's first language.

Alongside an interpretative repertoire of the 'naturalness' of using one's first language for mothering, many of these women drew on a discourse of 'language as work'. Women proposed that speaking their first language to their children in the context of a different dominant language, needed commitment and ongoing attention. Ffionn said:

I think if I don't constantly speak the language to her and say, this is the language I speak and that's what you have to speak to me, she won't learn it.

This interpretative repertoire was drawn on more often when children's own perspectives became influential, as I go on to examine later.

Fathering and use of language

Fathers used their languages in different ways to the mothers, and this was connected to the way they constructed their languages in their accounts of their parenting. Seven of the research participants were fathers. Only Naadir had spoken Arabic, his first language with his children from birth and he was the only father with a same language partner. Four fathers had shifted to speaking their first language to their children when they were somewhat older. Two fathers used only English for their parenting. Unlike the women, none of the men referred to ideas of naturalness in relation to their own parenting and language.

Ihsan described switching to Farsi when his daughter was two months old.

CB Tell me when [your daughter] was born did you think to speak with her in Farsi?

Ihsan I still find it very difficult to speak to her in Farsi. I speak to her in Farsi, you know, it's sort of like talking to my best friend and I don't want to do that, so I don't think it's right she's going to learn a bad language, that's the way I look at it, a strange language, so I find it very difficult to do it. But I'm doing it because if you do it, you must do it.

CB And you decided that from the moment she was born?

Ihsan About 2 months, a month and half after.

CB After she was born. Did you start speaking English with her?

Ihsan I was speaking English all of the time yes but then I'm stopping it, now, I speak Farsi to her now.

In contrast to being 'natural', Ihsan constructed speaking Farsi to his daughter as difficult, and drew on the interpretative repertoire of 'language as work', an ongoing effort, "if you do it, you must do it". Like Angela he also referred to a notion of 'purity' of language, connoted as necessary for child rearing - not speaking a 'bad language' as he would to friends.

Petiri switched to speaking Shona with his daughter when she was 5 years old, when she asked him what language he was speaking, and wanted to learn it. The switch in his use of language for fathering was driven by his daughter, and in fact, Petiri did not speak Shona to his son. This change in his language for fathering also reflected a different positioning in relation to his earlier decision to parent in English, which I examine later.

Naadir had spoken Arabic to his children from birth, as had his wife, but saw his children as having difficulty sustaining their Arabic speaking, and finding it impossible to learn

classical Arabic. Naadir raised concerns about this, in terms of their relationship with Islam.

You see the problem is, if you don't speak Arabic properly, you can't read the Koran.

Naadir here constructs his first language, not in terms of emotional expressiveness, but in relation to relaying religious knowledge and carrying cultural continuity. Bernard explained that he read in French, his first language, to his children, rather than speaking this with them:

CB Did you decide, OK I'm going to speak French to her, or what did you do?

Bernard We never actually spoke French. Um, except for reading, which we read with a loud voice and I would, well I was teaching her French, yes, but we didn't speak French in normal conversation. We had our little sessions, but (2) I never forced that on to the children. It was not a natural thing to do in a way, like the mother tongue. A mother who is, say, born in France and come to England and marry and had a first baby, she might tend to speak French to her children when they were babies.

CB Did you ever have that feeling?

Bernard No. Never had that feeling. I didn't feel very comfortable speaking it to my babies in the language in the context. For me it was out of context in a funny way.

Bernard constructed his use of French as a father as educational rather than as relational. He drew explicitly on the notion of 'mother tongue' here, which he saw as not applying to

him, because he was not a mother. Bernard also referred to his experience of the constraint of context, and Gustav placed this as central to his decision to parent in English.

Czech didn't come into it, because [my partner] doesn't speak Czech and I thought it was just ridiculous to speak Czech because there was no kind of context for it anyway,

The construction by fathers of a lack of context in which to speak their first language to their children is in contrast to the women's accounts, who make reference to this only when their children are much older. This connected to ideas about how much fathers often rely on their partner's relationship with their children as a context for their own fathering relationship, often only highlighted after marital separation (Burck & Daniel 1995b). The fact that their wives / partners did not speak the fathers' first language to their children may have acted as the most significant context for their decision making.

When fathers did shift to speaking their first / childhood languages with their children, they also remarked on the difference this made to the relationship. Petiri experienced the shift in talking Shona with his daughter as follows:

It's brilliant. It's really feels so good and because she also looks much more like me than [my son]. [My son] looks very much like his mother. So when I'm with [my daughter] it feels like, we could be in Zimbabwe, it's as relaxed as that. And she's very very keen and very interested

The shift in language gave Petiri a different sense of their relationship, as well as a different sense of their cultural connectedness and similarities. Ihsan thought that parenting in Farsi had made him "very close" to his daughter. Venjamin had switched to speaking

Hebrew, with his daughter during a year they lived in Israel, when she was a young child, and noted that:

It brought us closer together. [. . .] And I remember that she woke up one night in the middle of the night and she um said "Abbale," which is in Hebrew, her first word was Dad, sort of in kids' language. [. . .] Abba is father, abbale is Dad, and I remember that, she obviously had become Israeli to the extent that when she woke up in the middle of the night she would use a Hebrew word and call me, rather than use an English word and call [my wife].

For Venjamin speaking Hebrew with his daughter brought an increased sense of intimacy, as well as a sense of her shared cultural identity with him.

Of note then was that none of these fathers constructed their first languages as those for intimacy and play for fathering, but when they switched to speaking their first / childhood language with their children, after parenting in English, they experienced this as conferring intimacy and connectedness. This may mean there are many similarities in the experiences of parenting in a first language across gender. However the different ways in which women and men construct their use of language for their parenting and their languages in the context of parenting are connected to different choices of language with their own effects.

Constructions of parenting and language

Because family relationships are gendered it is perhaps no surprise that issues around language use within families are significantly interlinked with gendered constructions, in particular how mothering and fathering have been conceptualised. Although there are

considerable cultural variations between the research participants, mothers generally talked about language use differently from fathers.

In this context, it seemed important to interrogate the term ‘mother tongue’ which as noted earlier, has remained in common usage in the literature, with all its assumptions of parenting arrangements. In the perusal of these accounts, it has become apparent how much the concept of ‘mother tongue’ operated as an implicit idea drawn on by both women and men. Given that these research participants were living in Britain and most were conducting their intimate partner relationships in English, the fact that most of these parents parented, at least for some of the time, in their first/childhood language seemed striking, and interconnected in interesting ways with the concept of ‘mother tongue’.

The notion of the naturalness of using their first language to mother referred to by many of these women, in contrast to the way men talked of using their first language to father, related to the notion of ‘mother tongue’ although very few used the term itself. Mothering itself has, of course, predominantly been constructed as ‘natural’ (unlike fathering), despite feminist work that has deconstructed this notion (cf Phoenix & Woollett 1991). These overlapping constructions of ‘naturalness’ - of mothering, and of a first language - underpinned the concept of ‘mother tongue’ in these interviews.

Beliefs about ‘mother tongue’ embedded in these accounts were influential, but what were these beliefs? What is a ‘mother tongue’? In a different language context, one’s first language and its familiar sounds are given an emotional investment and meaning, in which the feeling that one will understand and be understood is key, as well as signifying identity. In the context of parenting, a ‘mother tongue’ signified something much more specific. The implicit meaning, which research participants drew on in relation to ‘mother tongue’, was that the language one was mothered in is the language one mothers in. These meanings

are generated in relation to an idea that one's first language, one's 'mother tongue' facilitates drawing on one's own experiences of being mothered to help one mother. First languages were experienced and constructed as offering a way to feel connected to one's family of origin, a sense of the familiar and to the past, across distance. They could be experienced as providing a sense of home, 'being at home' in the language, in the absence of place as home.

The women constructed their first language differently from the men, connoting it as one for intimacy and playfulness, as relational. The use of a first language was also seen as a way to access aspects of self not available in a second language, as well as providing an opportunity to speak it. The meanings of language for parenting did not stay static however, and could shift with socio-political changes as well as changes at personal and family levels. Renata for example, talked of how an increase in racism in Germany following unification changed the connotation of German from a language of intimacy, to one that exposed her child to danger.

The notion of 'mother tongue' was understood as excluding fathers. Why is a first language constructed as belonging to mothers, and what relationship with their first language does this construct for fathers? In these accounts it constructed fathers as individuals who didn't use their first languages with their babies for intimacy and play. In relation to an idea that a 'mother tongue', the language in which you were mothered, helps draw on those experiences to help you mother, this constructs men as unable to learn to father from their mothers. And what meaning is given to the language you were fathered in, which in any case is often the same language as you were mothered in? 'Father tongue' in these accounts was not named, but was constructed as a language for educational purposes and for carrying cultural identity. This construction of the language for fathering mirrors constructions of fathering which have emphasised 'role' rather than relationship.

When fathers did switch to speaking their first /childhood languages with their children after having parented in English, they experienced this as conferring intimacy to their relationship. This may mean there are more similarities in the experiences of parenting in a first language than the constructions of these would suggest.

Women may implicitly draw on the notion of ‘mother tongue’ to warrant a change in the current language practices within the family. When women become mothers, they can lay claim to the importance of their first language, ignored in the context of their partner relationship. This may also function to place their partner in the more disadvantageous position in relation to language, which the women themselves may have experienced in the dominant language. The idea that it’s ‘natural’ to use one’s first language to mother, the signification of ‘mother tongue’ as important, makes it difficult to refute or challenge.

If we can deconstruct the notion of ‘mother tongue’ which has been so powerfully constitutive of choices made by both men and women interviewed for this research, this could enable a reconsideration of language use and parenting arrangements in families. For these parents, fathers as well as mothers, speaking their first or childhood language with their children increased their sense of intimacy and closeness in these relationships, for whatever reasons, as well as sustaining minority language speaking both as parents and for children.

Code-switching as rhetorical strategy in parenting

Individuals who used their first language to parent had the potential to switch between languages, to code-switch. Research participants reported on instances of code-switching which they used explicitly or had noticed, and it is likely that a lot of code-switching

within family relationships would take place without conscious awareness of its function or meaning. This is the reason why research into code-switching tends to use observational methods rather than self-report. Nevertheless individuals gave accounts of various ways in which they used code-switching as parents.

Some individuals reported that their families had developed a style of code-switching in their conversations. Certain concepts or phrases in their first / childhood languages came into common usage in English conversations, because they encompassed ideas and feelings which could not be translated, and English terms were used in their first language interactions.

Di-Yin and Naadir both described an explicit use of code-switching in their parenting, moving from their first language to English for rhetorical purposes. Naadir thought he needed to know English well as a father and to use it on particular occasions.

When I have to explain to them something really important, I have to speak English, because it's so serious, I want them to understand. For example, if I teach them anything, mathematics, language or reading things or doing things for them, I have to do it in English for them to understand. If I have to discipline them or teach them things in life I have to speak in English to them, so that they understand what I'm talking about. Otherwise the Arabic for them is like fruit.

Naadir used English to 'perform authority' in his relationship with his children, and as a marker of the seriousness of the content. Di-Yin also switched to English at times in mothering her daughter.

Because in day care the teachers were disciplining her, saying, “you're not allowed to do this,” and teachers always discipline much better than mothers (laugh).

Because sometimes when I really want her to do something, I say it in English, and also because her language is just developing, and she doesn't understand Mandarin as much as English, because eight hours of English in day care, she understands more. So when I really want to discipline I say, “you should not do this,” and I lecture her in English (laughs).

Di-Yin used English, strategically, to back up her sense of authority with her daughter, as if invoking the day care teachers through the use of English. This is use of ‘appropriated speech’, where an individual reproduces another’s words in a different context (Maybin 1999) with the added dimension of a language switch. In using English, Di-Yin also created some distance in her relationship with her daughter from which position she could ‘do’ discipline differently.

These uses of code-switching, of using their different languages in a heteroglossic way, demonstrated its sophistication as a rhetorical strategy, as well as the self-reflexivity of the individuals who made use of it. Di-Yin and Naadir switched languages as a marker of affect, to grab attention, to emphasise, to indicate a change in relationship, and to invoke the authority of others. They both used English to ‘perform’ authority in their relationships with their children, and in doing so, they relied on associations their children would have to English, including its status in Britain.

Parenting in a second language

Some research participants had chosen to parent in English, and many of the others had switched from parenting in their first language to parenting in English. I examine the ways

in which individuals warranted their decisions and the ways they constructed the advantages and disadvantages of parenting in a second language.

Some accounts of parenting in English were positioned in relation to ideas of what parenting in one's first / childhood language would have entailed, or in which it should have occurred. There are notions here of first languages encompassing a richness and complexity not possible in a second language. Petiri constructed parenting in English as follows:

One can only do one's best, but it's always, like an analogy of an ill fitting shoe, it will do, but it's never quite as good fitting as a proper shoe. It's a size smaller so you always know there's something that's not quite right.

Petiri presented himself as someone who now regretted his choice to parent in English, but warranted his initial choice to enable his children to 'fit' into and be successful in the community. This was important to Petiri as a black man, because he knew his children would experience racism. He also proposed that parenting in English was protective of his relationships with his children.

The children can identify with my values because they don't see them as alien. Whereas if I had parented as an African father, certainly there would have been a lot of clashes, and I would have been the loser because at the end of the day, you can only go so far, you can't force children to do what they don't want to do. So parenting in English has helped me to be aware of all that, to be very respectful of where they're coming from, to go for collaboration really, rather than leading them, to go for authoritative parenting rather than authoritarian parenting.

Petiri saw his children's taking on English values and attitudes as inevitable and that his parenting in English allowed and enabled him to father in a way that fit with the context his children inhabited. Parenting in a different language was being a different kind of parent from doing so in one's first language, embodying different values encoded in the language.

Like Petiri, Naadir considered that fathering in English enabled him to connect to his children's perspectives, and that he needed to father in both Arabic and English.

You have to have two different hats and a third hat in-between, because poor children have two different lives. For us as adults, I know which is right, which is wrong and how to behave, because I came as an adult to this country. I still have lots of carrying with me a whole culture and customs and language, a whole life behind me, or with me. They don't. So sometimes, for example, they have to behave in the school like English, to be accepted among the English, or this is the only thing they know. When they come home, they have to behave a different way according to us, and our religion. So sometimes you have to behave with them as a father, as an Arab father, and sometimes you have to talk to them as an English father for them to understand me, and that hat in the middle, to differentiate between this and that. So it's very difficult.

Naadir conceptualised his children as needing to manage two different worlds (in the way some research participants had constructed their childhood experiences). He constructed himself as multiple, a different kind of father in each language, and a position between them, to help his children, "to be accepted in both and understand both and be respected in both". Naadir worked as an interpreter and this had had a considerable impact on his

construction of himself as a father. He constructed problems in the relationships between Arabic speaking parents and their children in terms of language.

For the Arabs not to lose their children in this country, the parents should learn the language and the culture here and the mentality here, because your children are going to have this mentality, if you don't understand their mentality through their language, you won't be able to discipline them or bring them up properly as you wish so.

Petiri and Naadir both considered parenting in English as a way to make sense of the values, attitudes and perspectives their children inevitably took on from the dominant culture. This idea drew on an interpretative repertoire of 'culture clash' as explanation of difficult relationships between immigrant parents and their children.

Angela parented her children in English, and as commented earlier, had taken up a somewhat defensive position about this. She talked of how aware she had been of issues for her children around identity.

But again, my children went through what I went through, especially [my son], he did have an identity crisis. He didn't know, he said to me, I remember, at the same age as I did, "I don't know whether, I'm not English, I'm not French, I'm not even Italian." They have a third one. "I don't know who I am", you know.

In the context of her own struggles as a child in relation to her languages, Angela's decision to parent in English could be viewed as an attempt to protect her children.

Venjamin gave up speaking Hebrew to his daughter and switched back to English when they returned to Britain.

I didn't think that it was important to keep up her Hebrew, but [my wife] did, and [my wife] was disappointed with me for dropping Hebrew and not trying to, not continuing to speak to her in Hebrew, um. I think that even if I had made the effort for a year, two years, it would have been an uphill struggle and she wouldn't have been able to retain her Hebrew. I wasn't motivated. I didn't attach much importance. I tend to be more matter-of-fact and more utilitarian. She lives in England, she goes to an English school, she doesn't learn Hebrew at school and uh, she, uh, was learning French at school, so the thing to do was to concentrate on French rather than Hebrew. [. . .] So I, I suppose, I felt it's up to [my daughter] if she wants to learn Hebrew, I would make, provide teaching for her.

Venjamin constructed his decision as pragmatic, drawing on an interpretative repertoire of 'language as work'. He proposed that the wish to learn Hebrew should come from his daughter (which is how Petiri came to speak Shona to his daughter). Juxtaposing this account with Venjamin's childhood narrative, this may be considered an implicit wish to protect his daughter from the difficult experience he had in relation to his first language, although he did not construct it in this way.

These parents privileged their children's ease in the dominant language and context over their ability to speak several languages.

Estelle and Sonja's decision to move to parenting in English was taken in relation to professional discourses of 'bilingualism' through which their children were constructed as having language delay in English. Estelle had been given professional advice to speak only one language to her child, preferably English. Both women initially constructed their decision to switch languages as personal in the interview and then recollected professional

interventions, which had impacted on their decision to give up parenting in their first language. This demonstrated how insidious professional hegemonic negativity about bilingualism could be.

Individuals experienced themselves as positioned differently, as a parent in a second language than when they used their first language. Ursula switched to parenting her second child, a son, in English, having parented her first child, a daughter in German in Germany. In exploring the effect of mothering in two different languages, Ursula described keeping a physical distance from her daughter to try to protect her, because of fears of repeating her own mother's abusiveness. She thought that mothering her son in English had been different.

CB I just wanted to ask more about whether you felt uh being a mother to him in English made it easier to be a different kind of mother from your mother, because it was in a different language?

Ursula That could be, it could be, I mean, it certainly, in my very down moments, I actually, when I spoke German, I heard myself as my mother. I thought God, and so I think, yes it was always a relief to get out of that mood, so, it allowed me to distance myself from myself, I suppose. [. . .] Yes I didn't know what my driving forces were, but it certainly, yes English, doing it in English was easier.

Ursula found that speaking English meant that she did not conflate herself with her mother, which she reported happened at times in German, and English enabled her to be different from her mother. For Ursula, and she constructed this meaning in the interview, the distance English provided her from her mother, enabled her to be closer to her son.

Oh yes I think it did, with him I was much, much closer, so the whole thing was, I was actually, I felt close to a human being for the first time in my life.

Other factors undoubtedly contributed to the experience of such a different relationship, gendered differences of mothering a son and a daughter, parenting in a different country, mothering a second as opposed to a first child. However, I found Ursula's construction of how English enabled her to experience herself as different from her mother compelling, and it mirrored others' accounts.

Others also constructed parenting in English as enabling them to parent in a way which avoided a replication of unhelpful patterns from their families of origin. Gustav saw speaking English as positioning himself very differently from his father, who had always taken a stance of a very critical expert throughout his own growing up. Because of his unfamiliarity with English cultural / linguistic practices, Gustav could not take this position and indeed, enjoyed learning from his young son. Zack constructed parenting in his second language as different from doing so in his first, and the long pause in this extract indicated that this was a new idea.

It encourages me to be more ah measured about um (4). I have the feeling when I am speaking to him that um, I am more careful about what I say, and what, what I'm thinking about what I say to him, whereas I might say more things which are just sort of instinctive, or intuitive, just firing from the hip,

Zack suggested that parenting in a second language gave him some time and space, a distance, within the interactions of fathering which enabled him to take a self-reflexive position.

The major loss involved in not parenting in a first language was language loss in the next generation and a loss of complexity and diversity for the individual and the family, a loss of emotional nuances, and of historical and local knowledge. Parents saw themselves as leaving out aspects of themselves in their second language, and of not being able to draw on the richness of their first language and its interconnectedness with their culture, with resultant losses for their children. However, some parents constructed parenting in their second language not only as supporting their children to be successful in the dominant culture but as enabling them to be more of the kind of parents they wanted to be. To take a metaphor developed by Byng Hall (1997), parents seeking to rewrite scripts from their families of origin, found they were facilitated in doing so by using another language. This mirrored individuals' experiences that moving to live in a second language had helped them to construct themselves differently.

Using language to claim identity and alliances in families

Another dimension of language use within families concerned the ways in which language speaking was signified in the construction of identities. In this section I examine this aspect of language use in both partnership relationships and family relationships. Language speaking and identity claims have been linked in other studies (Bucholtz 1995, Haarman 1986, McKay & Wong 1996, Miller 2000, Sebba & Wootton 1998). This study has relied on individuals' reports of their own, their partner's and their children's use of languages within the family context. Individuals continually make claims about their identities in their interactions with others, without necessarily identifying these as significant. In these interviews, individuals have selected particular interactions as important markers in the way language speaking evolved in their families.

In marital relationships in which neither partner's first language was English, decision-making about language was an explicit issue, unlike those where one partner was English. Petiri had married a woman whose first language was French, and they spoke English together and to their children.

She was not prepared to learn Shona, no way was she going to learn Shona, and I knew that learning French would make me again more of a foreigner. I was foreign enough being in English, speaking in English and doing things in English, I was still a foreigner, but to then to become an even bigger foreigner by acquiring another foreign language. I thought it was just too much, so I decided to go for the safe option, which was English.

Decisions about language speaking are here explicitly linked to questions of identity in relation to the wider community. Petiri's claim of belonging in Britain was continually under question and challenged in his everyday interactions because of how he was racialised. Claims of identity were also crucial within the relationship, where differences in the status given to English, Shona and French were also in play as were gendered differences.

Wasan's first language was Gujarati and he had married an Indian woman who had Hindi as a first language. They spoke each other's language and their relationship was characterised by teasing and disputes about whose speech was correct, his East African or her Indian version. Although they could switch back and forth between their languages and did so with their respective families, they conducted their relationship in English, which each spoke well.

It is likely that English was chosen for both Wasan's and Petiri's relationships because it is easier in Britain to do so, because it is the dominant language with high status, and because mostly their living was conducted in English. English could also be viewed as an equaliser within the marital relationship, in that each person had a similar relationship to it and neither partner had to privilege the other's language or claim of identity for the family.

The status of a language could also be used rhetorically, to warrant a claim for an individual's first language. Naadir began his relationship with his Moroccan wife in English, because neither knew each other's version of Arabic, and they later switched to conducting it in his Arabic. He gave the reason as follows:

Because we all prefer the Middle Eastern Arabic even the North African. [. . .]

Because it's more beautiful, higher status, definitely, because it's nearer to the Koran.

The Northern Arabic, either Arabic French or Arabic Spanish, which is disliked by the Arabs, it's a broken Arabic, it's a mixture.

Questions about who will learn whose language within the partnership were given meaning in relation to claims of identity both within the relationship and within the dominant communities, in relation to issues of power. Differences in the status of languages also impacted on decisions and were utilised in individuals' claims and negotiations.

Choosing to parent in one's first language may be considered a claim of identity at a time when definitions of self are experienced as changing. When Sonja became a mother:

I got really homesick, I went home for a month when [my son] was very little. [. . .] that's when I felt really unrooted, when I first had [my son]. [. . .] and I really didn't deal with that terribly well, um but again I can't really blame [my husband]

for that, but I certainly didn't get any help and encouragement from him. It remained very polarized I guess, [my husband] and me and Sweden.

For Sonja, becoming a parent raised questions of identity and belonging for herself.

Speaking one's first language to one's baby can constitute a claim of identity both for oneself and for one's baby, and be considered as such by a partner. Such claims are made at a time when couples are negotiating their differences of parenting and what they want to carry on and give up from their families of origin.

When one parent parented in a language not spoken by the other, families were faced with issues of managing inclusion and exclusion, and of living with alliances created through language speaking. I use the concept of alliance here, in its usage in family therapy theory, as a relationship experienced as closer than other relationships in a family, formed through something shared, or in opposition to another individual or relationship.

In some families, one parent spoke with their children in a language not understood by the other. When everyone privileged the importance of speaking this language, exclusion did not become an issue. Ffionn felt supported by her Irish husband, in speaking Welsh to their daughter, because he viewed maintaining linguistic/cultural connections as important. Nor was she organised by concerns about exclusion in the presence of other English speakers when she spoke Welsh to her daughter, perhaps because of his support, as well as a family tradition of persistence in Welsh language speaking and claims of identity in the face of English encroachment.

Maria and her white English husband had received advice about how to manage language speaking when they became parents.

Unless [my husband] was completely fluent in Spanish we should speak one parent, one language. Now that created some dilemmas for us, because it meant when I was talking to [our son], it excluded [my husband]. And so the rule we evolved was that I would speak Spanish with [our son] when I was on my own with him.

The principle of inclusion became the highest context marker in the family for language use. It was constructed as Maria's task to switch to English to avoid a language alliance with their son in the presence of her husband. Maria thought her husband: "understands everything, but he pretends he doesn't", yet she did not speak Spanish in his presence, so that he wouldn't feel left out. In this way, Maria's husband became aligned with English dominance, and Spanish became a private language between Maria and their son.

Sonja gave up speaking Swedish to her son altogether, because of concerns about exclusion, heightened because she had experienced her husband as very dismissive of Swedish, so that she held all the responsibility for her language choice.

I think that I found it just too difficult to hold together, the speaking Swedish to [my son] in that one to one, and having another relationship when we were altogether, so either we had to speak English, or [my husband] wouldn't understand, so I abandoned it really

If exclusion was an issue in families, the task of inclusion fell to the parent to switch to English in the presence of their partner, rather than to their partner to learn the other language. Men in this study were more tentative about speaking their first language to their children and their partners were actively involved in supporting their language speaking, and issues of exclusion did not arise. For the women, the privileging of inclusion may have connected to the common construction fathers make of themselves as excluded from

mother-child relationships when children are young, so that mothering in a different language would confirm such a construction.

Alliances created through language, acquired meanings both inside families and outside them, which were racialised. Petiri had decided to parent in English because of concerns about exclusion in the community, as well as concerns for the relationships within his family.

I think there was something about fear of difference, and if I was going to teach them Shona or anything to do with my cultural background that would highlight the cultural differences between myself and my wife, and myself and the host community.

Petiri posited inclusion within the family and in the community, in the context of racism, as primary in making decisions about language. His choice of English served to stake a claim to identities for his children as English.

Yvonne, a white mother, talked of the pleasure she had in speaking Dutch to her son in the presence of others

I'm aware now that if I speak to him in Dutch, when there are other people around, in a sense it's reinforcing the bond I have with him. [. . .] It's almost like saying to people I have something unique with him. [. . .] Which is so silly really. Another reason why I try not to do it. (3) Very complicated actually.

For her, using her first language with her son outside of home conveyed specialness, which Yvonne found troubling, as if contravening social expectations, in relation to exclusion.

Speaking with a parent in their first language, was also seen as conferring intimacy and specialness by children, as Cato remembered:

What I more remember is a sort of a specialness really. A little bit of a sort of secrecy between you know, my mother and I.

Claiming an identity for oneself as a parent and for one's child through a first language presented other dilemmas. Ihsan described some discomfort he had in speaking Farsi with his daughter, in relation to certain sayings he found himself using with his daughter.

[My daughter] chucks the bread on the floor, I say "don't chuck the bread on the floor it's bad luck you know. People, who chuck bread on the floor they have lots of children, don't do it." [. . .] "Don't cut your bread into small pieces it's a sign of lots of children, don't do that." You know, it's a lot of rubbish.

Parenting in Farsi in an English context highlighted contradictions between his languages and cultures for Ihsan.

Children themselves were significantly involved in decisions about language use within families. As reported by their parents, children made identity claims of their own, by refusing or choosing to speak a parent's language, and turning down or confirming a shared cultural identity with them.

Bernard's children had differential responses to reading French with him, with his daughter enjoying this, and his son refusing to do it.

[My son] didn't want to learn French like that. It was extra lessons and they had enough. [My son] said, "I was born in England. I am English, so I don't want to do French". But that was a reaction. [My daughter] didn't have this reaction at all but [my son] did.

Bernard 's son made a claim of an English identity, through which he refused to speak French. This claim also served as a rhetorical device to avoid what he saw as unwanted work. This was not a claim for a language alliance within the family, as Angela, Bernard's wife was Sicilian, but a claim as a dominant language speaker. Sonja's son took a similar stance.

But [my son] also said things like, he didn't want to speak Swedish when he was little, "I'm an English boy, not Swedish". He's been much more the one voicing that. I don't know whether that's to get at me, or because that's the imperialistic notion, "I don't need to speak Swedish, everyone will speak English."

Claims for alliances through language and culture, as well as gender may have played a part within the family, as Sonja's husband was perceived as dismissive of Swedish and Sonja's daughter became motivated to learn Swedish.

Language speaking became conflated with identity claims. Because speaking a minoritised language signified a different cultural identity, children saw a claim to be English as being monolingual. The status of languages was also significant, as English was regarded as having a high status, and conveying this to the speaker. Although parents varied in relation to their capital resources, found to be crucial to ways minoritised individuals can live in the dominant society, and to their ability to support their children's minoritised language maintenance, it was challenging to counter dominant meanings. As children brought more

English and English friends into the household, and siblings spoke English together, there was an increased alignment with dominant values.

Estelle saw her children as having quite different cultural identifications and engagement with her first language.

My son is French, I always think of him as being French. He has a lot more connection with France. He loves everything about France. He goes and stays with my mother. Not my daughter though, she is an English girl.

When Petiri's daughter asked him to teach her Shona, his son refused to take part and began to learn French, his mother's language. Family alliances became demarcated through language, with each parent-child pair using a language the other pair did not understand, and these were experienced as claims of shared cultural identity. This rigidified alliances in the family in a way that had not occurred previously.

Naadir's children spoke only English in the family, while Naadir and his wife continued to speak Arabic. Naadir described that they frequently claimed their identity as English.

My children, if someone asks them, "where are you from?" they say, "my father is from Iraq, my mother is from Morocco and I am English." (laughing) I say, "no, you are Iraqi," they say, "yes I'm Iraqi, but I'm English."

According to Naadir's account, his children's identity claims varied dependent on the context, but they preferred to claim an English identity. The negotiations of cultural identities were ongoing processes inside families as well as outside them, and language speaking was very much intertwined in these.

There was no easily discernible gendered pattern that emerged in the reported language speaking of children within families. Firstborns generally had a better chance of learning their parents' first languages than subsequent children, because of the gradual move to use English in many of these families, often precipitated by the children. Language speaking was centrally interconnected with children's identity claims. Language choice by children formed alliances and claimed shared identities in interaction with their parents, and sometimes with grandparents.

Decisions made about language use within families demonstrated a variation in comfort with alliances delineated through language. Partners' attitudes to languages and not being able to understand were considered to be significant in supporting the speaking of several languages in the family, even though they were rarely impelled to learn the languages themselves.

Children viewed speaking a minoritised language as signalling a non-English identity, often problematised in the context of Britain. English identities were therefore constructed as monolingual in English, correlating with dominant discourses of Englishness. In working to claim an English identity, children often refused other languages. The privileging of English identities by many research participants' children perhaps reflected the longing for singularity and belonging addressed in the autobiographies. Research participants' ease with their own multiplicity and their claims of the advantages their languages gave them did not necessarily persuade their children of these benefits.

To sum up, issues of language speaking in families were conflated with claims and counterclaims of identity, as well as claims of alliance. It was unclear whether these meanings of language speaking, and of claims of belonging and not belonging to the

dominant culture, had been explicitly considered within families. The ways in which children in families constructed language speaking raises questions about how families can best sustain their speaking of several languages. What is evident in these accounts is how actively both parents need to be involved in supporting and enabling their children to be able to live in several cultural and linguistic contexts in Britain.

Complexities of speaking several languages in families

The identification of the constructions of language and family relationships in these accounts allow a consideration of the complexities for families when adults do not have the same first language.

In forming their adult partnerships, individuals and their partners, on the whole, took for granted that their relationship would be conducted in English, the dominant language. Very few partners decided to learn the other language. In ongoing negotiations of constructions of personhood and relationship, each individual drew on different cultural and linguistic resources and contexts, and partnerships varied in how they took into account or not, individual's different positioning within the dominant language. Issues of fluency in English were open to being problematised. Differences of language and culture could also keep relationships more focused on the struggle for understanding. One could view these cross-language relationships as characterised by the challenge to make use of the dialogic interaction of differences, and to avoid monologic positions, and they varied considerably in managing this.

Becoming parents, recontextualised issues of language for families, and other constructions came into play - of mothering, fathering and children. Many individuals parented in their first/childhood languages at least some of the time. Having children may powerfully

highlight the potential of loss of language and culture. But it was a dedicated task to pursue parenting in a minoritised language, in the context of Britain. Despite the proliferation of languages in Britain, languages other than English are considered irrelevant, and the emphasis is placed on articulacy in English. The ‘bilingual’ parent had to operate in two different languages and cultures, and find ways to help their children manage this positioning too, and their partner’s stance seemed crucial in this task. Perhaps not surprisingly, many research participants drew on a discourse of maintaining their first language as ‘work’, in their parenting, as they did in relation to keeping their own fluency in their first language.

The gendered differences in the ways men and women parented in their first language and constructed this, highlighted the impact of the concept of ‘mother tongue’, and the ongoing construction of women as those who taught children language. This construction made it likely that most mothers would use their first language with their babies, in spite of other constraints on speaking minoritised languages. It also made it less likely that fathers did so, if both they and their partners considered mothers to be responsible for language. Fathers needed some external intervention / permission to speak with their children in their first language. Women and men constructed their first languages differently for parenting, shaped by and contributing to constructions of mothering and fathering.

Parents balanced the importance of sustaining their first language with the importance of fluency in English and the need for children to ‘fit in’ to the community. Some shifted between these two positions, or they and their partner held different positions with some danger of polarisation. Professional discourses emphasised the importance of fluency in English, as did children themselves. Many parents who had begun parenting in their own childhood language described this changing over time, as they switched over to English, influenced by children themselves.

Children made identity claims in refusing to speak their parents' language, drawing on discourses of the irrelevance of these languages, and seeing language as a marker of difference. However first languages were also constructed as conferring intimacy and specialness by both parents and children. Giving up a language involved considerable losses.

Chapter 10 – CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This thesis has begun an exploration of the multiplicity engendered by living in several languages through research interviews and the analysis of autobiographical writing. I made the decision to explore individuals' own accounts and meanings and I think these have been particularly suited to analysing constructions of identity and the ways individuals make use of discursive resources.

It was clear from the alacrity with which people volunteered themselves for this research study, that most individuals had had little opportunity to talk about issues of living in several languages previously, and that they felt this to be significant to their lives.

While others have argued passionately that language loss on a global scale is threatening the biodiversity of the planet, as crucial knowledge is lost, this study has highlighted the advantages of sustaining languages at an individual and at a family level, as well as the persistence required to do so, in a country like Britain. The ways in which languages are spoken and given meaning within family relationships have been elaborated in the thesis. These meanings are very much influenced by the meanings in the wider context, in which language speaking intersected with the construction of cultural identities and ethnicities, and with power relationships and inequities. Within families, individuals used their languages and these meanings to construct identities for themselves and others and to claim alliances. When individuals were not able to use their languages in the family, significant aspects of their experiences and their expressiveness were excluded. Language use was constitutive of subjectivity, so that language choice had profound effects at two levels, as a claim of identity and the experience of oneself.

Research participants easily took up the invitation to reflect on their relationship to their languages, and demonstrated considerable self-reflexivity. I take this as an effect of being positioned in several language systems which seems to facilitate the taking up of an observing position to oneself and language. One can more easily look at a language, and oneself in that language, when one has a position outside it, that is, from a positioning in another language, (although it is impossible for any of us to be ‘outside language’). Kristeva (1969/1986) once remarked: “When one looks at language one is declaring oneself a ‘foreigner’”.

Whatever their histories and circumstances of language learning, whether they grew up with several languages or learned their languages later in their lives, the research participants and writers of the autobiographies described experiencing themselves very differently in each of their languages. Living in several languages meant that individuals constructed different meanings within each of their linguistic / cultural contexts, which included significantly, making different meanings of themselves.

This has also meant, put at its most simple, that those who learned to live in another language later in their lives, found that this changed them profoundly.

These accounts of subjective experiences of difference tally with research in various fields discussed earlier in the literature review, which found differences of various kinds when individuals used their different languages: individuals presented different values and affective content (eg Ervin 1964, Grosjean 1982, Pérez Foster 1998), recalled events very differently (Javier 1996), and were simultaneously psychotic in one language and coherent in another (Hughes 1981, de Zulueta 1990). Speaking different languages were also found

to involve different cortical networks (Kim et al 1997, Pinker 1994, Binder et al 1997, Pouratian et al 2000).

Clearly there is something at work here, which is not 'simply' connected to the use of language to claim identity (although individuals also did so). Individuals used their languages in different relationships and contexts. They developed different associations and networks of meanings in each, and positioned themselves and were positioned differently in each. Individuals also constructed their languages differently. Linguistic contexts make 'a difference that makes a difference' (Bateson 1979) to individuals, and one which can be noted explicitly. These differences enabled an exploration of individuals' accounts of living with multiplicities. The very different circumstances through which these individuals learned their languages and their heterogeneity as a group, also allowed an analysis of the intersections of language speaking and subjectivity, of language speaking and racialisation, and of the construction and use of gendered meanings of language speaking, particularly in relation to child rearing.

Constructions of self

So what has the analysis revealed of how individuals constructed themselves as speakers of several languages? Research participants and writers presented versions of themselves and claimed particular identifications through their reflections on their experiences of their languages.

One of the striking features of these accounts, given my choice of a heterogeneous group of individuals in terms of their 'race', ethnicity, culture, class and circumstance of learning their languages, was the way women and men made use of a construct of a 'doubled self', differentiated by their languages.

This concept of a doubled self was constructed in the context of the research interviews, and the autobiographies also drew on this construction. During the interviews, very few individuals seemed to have well-worn, often repeated narratives about themselves as speakers of several languages, and the many uses of the phrase, “I’ve never thought about it this way before”, indicated that research participants were actively constructing new meanings in the research interview. The research interview offered a way to reflect on and construct experience through placing an individual’s languages as the highest organising context for drawing distinctions, and from which to make sense of themselves. Why did so many individuals draw on a notion of ‘doubleness’ to elaborate their experiences of their language speaking?

The use of a construct of ‘doubleness’ seems particularly striking at a time when the conceptualisation of multiple subjectivity has become commonplace in the academic literature. Several of the autobiographical writers were clearly familiar with these postmodern discourses of subjectivity, as were some of the research participants, and yet they also drew on a construct of a doubled self. But why doubled? Is this reflective of the continued pull to dualism, the predominance of constructions of binary opposites, so persistent within Western discourses?

A century ago, W.E.B. Du Bois (1906) developed the idea of ‘double consciousness’ in relation to African American identity - “two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings”, and can be considered as providing a canonical narrative of identity. He posited this to address the difficulties for black people in the United States who internalised an American identity which excluded them, thereby experiencing a double marginality. There is a distinction, a doubleness, inherent in Western self-consciousness between ‘I’ and ‘me’ - an awareness of oneself (me) by oneself (I), and an awareness of oneself (me) from

another's perspective (other), propounded in theories of identity by James (1890) and Mead (1913) and informed by philosophical, political and social scientific scholarly work. This notion of doubleness was elaborated by Laing (1965) at the end of the 1950s, through his concept of the 'divided self' drawing on existentialist traditions, in which he drew distinctions between the 'true' and 'false' self, and through which he reconfigured certain psychiatric diagnoses. Schizophrenia is still commonly considered a kind of split and 'doubled' condition in lay discourses. Winnicott (1960) too propounded a notion of a 'true' and 'false' self, the 'false' selves which are formed to protect the hidden 'true' self. These ideas have informed popular discourses on subjectivity, as have postmodern conceptualisations of subjectivity as multiple (Henriques et al 1984), with subjectivities conceptualised as shifting and dependent on contexts, which are currently prevalent. However, constructions of multiplicity are also drawn on in relation to individuals who acquire the diagnosis of 'multiple personality disorder'. These interpretative resources of doubled and multiple subjectivities which individuals use to construct themselves can also carry connotations of madness.

There was considerable variability in the way doubleness was referenced in the interviews and autobiographies. Some individuals posited their doubleness as an inner core and an outer self. 'Inner' and 'outer' are powerful metaphors for making distinctions between the private and the public, between thoughts and self-presentation. This may have become a prevalent metaphor for those who learned a language later in their lives and described a period when their internal language and external language were different. This usage also becomes conflated with the discourse of a 'true and 'false' self, with inner first languaged experiences given connotations of authenticity, and the second language self considered a 'performance'. The ways individuals used a construct of a 'genuine' inner self overlapped with a notion of an essentialist self.

The notion of a doubled self may have particular salience in a context in which the first language and culture has been attacked. This was the case when the idea of an ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ doubleness was employed in relation to the effects of colonisation through language. Here the ‘inner first language self’ was considered ‘authentic’, encompassing a cultural identity which could counter the processes of colonisation, while the ‘false self’ was considered that constructed through subject positions offered in the colonisers’ language. Important identity claims were made with this usage, and it offered a way to address and challenge colonisation and racialisation processes, although it did entail the dangers inherent in claiming essentialist characteristics of cultural / racial identity, of which other writers (Bhavnani & Phoenix 1994, Hall 1989, hooks 1989, Said 1993) have warned, disavowing heterogeneity, contradiction and ongoing processes of identification. Claims to essentialism are often made to challenge disqualifications and can perhaps most helpfully be viewed as discursive work and part of a process over time (Burck & Daniel 1995). I return to examine such processes later.

Not all the research participants used an ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ distinction; some of those who grew up with several languages conceptualised their ‘doubleness’ linked to an idea of a ‘doubled world’, two separate contexts, most often - of home and the outside world. The differences of language and all this entailed accentuated the differences between these domains. These individuals used a construct of ‘doubleness’ that did not include a primary sense of self, as the idea of a core self did. One usage of this doubleness was of a ‘neither/nor’ identity, (rather than a ‘both/and’ identity), which was constructed as ‘outsider-ness’ in each context.

‘Doubleness’ was also structured temporally and spatially, by those who had migrated, with some individuals drawing on the idea of a ‘core’ self, signified through the importance of language in the early years of life – an idea that “the first language seems to

be attached to identity with a kind of absoluteness” (Hoffman reported in Zournazi 1999), while others did not identify a primary languaged self. Another version of this doubleness was that of an ‘imagined’ and ‘lived’ self - the ‘hypothetical self’ who would have developed in the first language and place, and the ‘lived self’ who had developed in the second / subsequent language. Autobiographers constructed a further level of doubleness with the use of the ‘I’ of the author and ‘me’ of the written self.

The academic literature also drew on a construct of ‘doubleness’ in relation to bilingualism. Indeed, it was this conceptualisation which was originally used to argue that bilingualism was detrimental, as Adler (1977) had, stating: “Often bilinguals have split minds” and “bilingualism can lead to a split personality and at worst to schizophrenia”. Here the construct of doubleness did become conflated with and signify madness. Pérez Foster, one of the few writers to address ‘bilingualism’ and individual psychotherapy, also conceptualised the ‘bilingual self’ as doubled, and argued that there are two different “language-bounded inner representations of the self”. She proposed that each language operated as a separate code, with its own cognitive structures, organisational schema, and “psychic structures” (1998 p75).

Doubleness as trope

So how can we unpack doubleness as a trope? What does the use of a construct of a doubled self accomplish? Many of the individuals in this study had lived in predominantly monolingual countries and tended to switch language when they changed context. Only a few individuals had lived in a diglossic context, where it was common practice for everybody to switch between languages. Many of these accounts are therefore concerned in one way or another with discontinuities in the switch from one language to another, and some individuals had experienced major disruptions through moving country and

language. For these individuals, living with disjuncture and contradictions, constructing themselves as doubled, I want to argue accomplishes a sense of coherence.

As highlighted in the review of narrative theory, there are many demands for coherence, in giving an account of the self, from the form of narrative itself (Irigaray 1985, Kristeva 1986, Ricoeur 1984), to its current privileging in relation to mental health (Fonagy et al 1991) and its veracity in settings such as the courtroom (Gergen 1994). Writers from many different theoretical orientations have addressed the difficulties of sustaining contradictions and fissure in identity (cf Rose 2001, Said 2001). Individuals work hard to maintain a sense of their own continuity and consistency. However a change in language and country make fissures very explicit. The use of a construct of doubleness can be viewed as a way to work fissure and discontinuities, paradoxically both attaining cohesiveness and sustaining differences. The use of a construct of a doubled self serves as a device to keep differences separate, and invokes the ideal of a coherent unitary monolingual identity, through constructing two. Because a developmental narrative is privileged in our culture, a doubled construct transforms discontinuity into two distinct developmental narratives.

Pérez Foster's (1998) usage of doubleness works in a similar way, in preserving notions of individual development and coherence, important to her theoretically as a psychodynamic psychotherapist. However this also works as a rhetorical device, through which she posits the danger for therapists of neglecting their patients' languages.

However individuals in my research did not draw only on constructs of doubleness, but also used other notions of multiplicity. There was considerable complexity in the ways individuals made identifications and constructed themselves and positioned themselves in their languages.

The experience of disruption of a move to a new linguistic context involves a loss of the taken-for-granted, and a disruption of meaning. The effect of finding oneself unable to express oneself in a new language was often connoted as being 'de-authored'. Individuals used tropes of 'being outside language', of 'having lost language', and of 'not being filled with language anymore'. Stripped of the familiar, of 'doxic' experience (Bourdieu 1991), individuals had to do something new, and in so doing, they were made aware of processes of constructing themselves through their interactions with others, processes that were invisible and had become naturalised in their first languages. Individuals drew on a metaphor of performance – learning to perform themselves as speakers. For some, this metaphor endured as a description of their second languaged experiences.

Performance calls up the idea of individuals taking up a series of roles, or of explicitly managing their self presentation, as Goffman (1959) proposed. But of particular interest in the use of this metaphor is its overlap with Butler's (1990) work on gender as performance. Butler's thesis is that gender identity is a set of performances, that gender is an identity constituted and signified through a regulated process of repetition. Because on the whole, individuals live their gendered identities as if they were substantive, Butler's argument is that coming to realise there is nothing behind the performance opens opportunities for living gender in a different way; indeed this is where she locates agency.

Learning to live in a new language was constructed as reiterative performances.

Individuals described relying on observation and imitation, drawing on stereotypes, to embody others' words and gestures. In Bakhtinian terms, individuals positioned themselves in the new language, by speaking in clichés, using the 'social' of the language, which they viewed as 'monologic' rather than 'heteroglossic' (Bakhtin 1986). Researchers

analysing discursive practices within one language have drawn attention to how individuals use others' speech for rhetorical purposes in their construction of their accounts and of themselves (cf Fairclough 1992, Maybin 1998, 1999). In entering a new language, such practices are made explicit.

These performances based on mimicry aim for external similarity but as Bhabha (1994) pointed out, are ambivalent, because they are never quite the same, and at times unsettle relationships between the performer and their audience. 'Doing a linguistic identity' was a relational process which relied on others' responses. I return to such effects in the next section.

For research participants, the sense that they were performing themselves, raised an ideological dilemma. It did not fit well with the claim of 'authenticity' so important to intersubjective relationships, what Habermas viewed as one of the crucial validity claims made in communication (Donovan 2001). Unlike Butler (1990) who argued that there is no authenticity, that there is nothing behind the performance, research participants privileged a sense of authenticity, and located this either in their sense of themselves in their first language, or over time, when they had moved into a different relationship to themselves, in a new language.

The move from a sense of an ontologically referential identity to one of a conjunctural play of identifications (Stam 1998) challenges individual's sense of what is important to them. In the process of family therapy, family members often conflate authenticity with what is usual. Doing something new becomes constructed as inauthentic because it does not fit with ideas about the self or other. Essentialist ideas of the self, of 'personality' and of relationships constrain possibilities of change. It seems that individuals learning to live in a new language are forced through the necessity to communicate to stay with their

‘performance’ despite its disruption of their sense of authenticity. This may also inform the construction of first languages as the language for emotional expressiveness.

The reiterative performances in the new language became constitutive of the speaker, a different kind of speaker from the first language speaker. Some research participants retained a sense of themselves as performers, of themselves ‘doing a linguistic identity’; several had this sense of themselves in all their languages. For others, their ‘performance’ became experienced over time as ‘natural’ - a ‘mask merging with skin’ (Sante 1998 p259) - a shift in fluency and subjectivity, recursively linked – a switch of internal conversation to the new language, an experience of speaking without translating, finding a different positioning within the language.

The word in language is half someone else’s. It becomes ‘one’s own’ only when the speaker populates it with his (sic) own intention, his (sic) own accent . . . adapting it to his (sic) own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language . . . , but rather it exists in other people’s mouths, in other people’s contexts, serving other people’s intentions; it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one’s own . . . [But] expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one’s own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process. (Bakhtin 1981: 293-4)

I see an individual ‘owning’ a new language as no longer just being ‘hailed’ by it (Althusser 1971, Hall 1996), no longer only taking up certain subject positions, but discovering that the language is heteroglossic. Here I follow Hall’s attempt to unpack the processes of the suturing of a subject to a subject-position. A performance is not a suture, but reiterative performances produce a suture of a kind. Initially individuals did not seem to consider a new language as encompassing diverse discursive practices, or a new culture

as heterogeneous and contested. Individuals could be considered as attaching themselves to a particular story line, and ignoring complexities. This carried its own costs and dilemmas. Performing oneself in a new language made explicit a sense of oneself as contingent on language and context, and at the same time individuals claimed agency in this process, spoke in terms of 'self-invention', of becoming 'self-made' in this new context.

Butler (1990) has argued that it is the awareness of performance that enables a challenging and subverting of gender identities. Others hold that individuals shift between authenticity and performance in every day practices and that these discourses are drawn on for claims and counter claims in interactions (Frosh et al 2002, Horton-Salway 2001). I am interested in what effect the explicitness of performing themselves in a new language had over time on these individuals and I tackle this question below.

The processes of coming to own another language are complex. As Bakhtin put it, it involves the ability to say "I am me" in someone else's language, and in my own language, "I am other" (Bakhtin 1981 pg 314-315). Hoffman suggested in an interview that it took her twenty years to get a sense that English really belonged to her (Zournazi 1999). These processes of a language becoming their 'own' linked to the ways individuals were positioned in and through it, and therefore to its meanings in social struggles.

Language and identity in context

All languages are inherently sites of social and ideological struggle (Bakhtin 1981). These struggles occur between languages as well as within languages.

The ways in which individuals were positioned and positioned themselves intersected with ways they were racialised, and had significant effects on the meanings of language speaking and on themselves as speakers. In colonial contexts, necessity resulted in those with least power speaking the most languages. Speaking a number of languages was therefore associated with those of least status and this connotation may still be in play in Britain.

Individuals' accounts of their relationship to language in colonised contexts drew on discourses of colonialism and postcolonialism. English, the dominant colonial language had offered each of these research participants' opportunities, while impacting differentially on their experience and performance of themselves in this and their other languages. Speaking English was viewed as having a central role in the processes of colonisation, which is why some have argued that it is impossible to use the oppressors' language to create a different paradigm (hooks 1989). However, developing a different relationship to their languages as an adult enabled individuals to position themselves differently. The accounts of the adults who were members of the colonising group focused on the struggle with the contradictory meanings of their first language and their identities, finding it difficult to own that they were privileged as a result of their racialisation.

Experiences of speaking English in Britain were shaped by the subject positions available and offered, and varied considerably depending on racialisation. For the Chinese, South Asian, Arabic, Israeli and Zimbabwean research participants, being an English speaker was continually brought under question through their racialisation. Language speaking was a site of contested identity and belonging. Their fluency in English was never taken for granted as unremarkable, and their English identity was challenged and refused in ongoing

ways. The research participants who were racialised as white rarely had their fluency in English questioned, and their whiteness was at times signified as an English identity, which raised dilemmas and opportunities about whether to contest this or to 'pass', but with a few exceptions, they did not present themselves as aware of the privileges of this positioning.

If performances as a dominant language speaker are challenged, different kinds of claims of identity become necessary. Some individuals claimed an identity as an outsider, enjoyed their positioning as different, and their ability to present themselves ambiguously. However, this was rarely successfully achieved during childhood when individuals recollected wanting to belong and be similar to others.

Speaking a minoritised language in Britain acted as a marker of difference, helping to construct ethnicity and cultural identity. Speaking English with an accent also acted as a marker, affected interactions at a prosodic level and could call a performance into question. On the other hand, when second languages were 'read' as first ones because an individual did not have an accent, misinterpretations occurred through a mismatch of assumptions.

Discursive work and narrative construction in different contexts

The different circumstances and contexts in which individuals learned and spoke their languages demanded different tasks of individuals, and offered them different resources. The discursive work identified within the accounts accomplished solutions to certain problems and dilemmas and created others.

Those who had grown up in a family who spoke a minority language faced a task of managing the distinctions of language and culture between their home and the outside

world, and of being signified as different through their language. This was, on the whole, constructed as a discourse of a lonely struggle, with individuals experiencing discontinuity and disjuncture on their own, with no context offering confirmation of the complexity of their experiences. These accounts were often underpinned by a perceived demand for and a notion of an ideal of an unproblematic singularity. Individuals lived with a sense of their own doubleness connected to living in a doubled world, but this posed dilemmas of polarisation.

For those who had to learn a new language after having to flee their country of origin as children, the need to find a positioning in the new language to counter experiences of powerlessness was an immediate concern. Individuals had to make sense of the disjuncture in their experience as well as to manage their positioning as outsiders. Their constructions of self varied depending on context, as well as demonstrating gendered differences. Two of these individuals had moved for a second time, as young adults, to Britain, which had reframed their sense of outsidership and inferiority, and this was constructed as a context which supported their sense of multiplicity. For the third individual, loss, restlessness and homelessness were key metaphors in his account, and included a longing for his first language identity and home.

Those who had moved languages and countries as children had to find ways to manage the disjuncture between their languages and cultures, across time and in a different place. Narratives in first languages were constructed as remaining static and separate from developments in the new language. Some individuals conceived this as losing their bearings / meanings, and having to ‘make themselves up’ in a new linguistic context.

The accounts of childhood identified contexts that had provided a shift in individuals’ sense of themselves. These were not ‘significant turning points’ which others have

identified in their analysis of narratives (eg Riessman 1993), but an engagement with a context through which their identifications shifted from being connoted as problematic or polarised to being validated and owned. I want to term this a 'transforming context'. For Angela, the French language and the family of her French husband had provided this; for Venjamin and Renata it was moving to a third country, Britain; Quinlan had found this in her diverse and multiply identified peer group. Writing provided this context for the autobiographers, a place to explore the disruptions in their narratives and to validate their multiplicities. The experience of a 'transforming context' provided individuals with a different kind of positioning and different resources with which to make sense of disjuncture. However, accounts varied considerably in how 'settled' participants constructed themselves as being. Konrad presented himself as currently troubled, with an overriding sense of 'being split', and an ongoing longing for singularity. His idea that moving to a different country could have offered him a different sense of self is remarkably similar to the kind of transforming context other research participants had found.

The notion of a 'transforming context' raises questions about what kind of contexts these are and how individuals engage with these. There are implications here for the speaking of minoritised languages in a predominantly monolingual society, and I will return to this in a later section.

Those who moved languages and countries when they were older constructed this as a transition through which they had developed a different sense of themselves. Individuals entered into the new language and found ways to position themselves in the culture. For some there was a sense that they could 'make themselves up' free from familial and cultural constraints, for others a sense of constraint through being positioned. Taking on another language had the effect of making them 'other' (Steiner 1989) and individuals

experienced being decentred verbally and ideologically (Bakhtin 1981). Individuals had to ‘work’ their different experiences in each language and construct identifications with each of their ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson 1983), absent as well as present, which were rarely untroubled. Learning a language and a culture were not straightforward, and individuals drew on their ‘imagined’ notions of other speakers, as well as being constructed in stereotypical ways by others. Individuals also drew on stereotyped ideas about their own language over time in these different linguistic contexts.

Attrition of individuals’ first languages had happened imperceptibly over time and when noted, distressed or shocked individuals. A loss of fluency in their first language became equated with a loss of the past, and a loss of identity. Sometimes an individual’s language had not evolved past a particular life stage. No longer ‘at home’ in their first language, individuals became positioned as foreigners for themselves, and were often considered by others as claiming a different identity when they interspersed words from their second language. Noting a loss of fluency often precipitated an individual’s attempt to relearn the language and was often accompanied by a reclamation of their first language identity.

Hybridisation

All of these individuals, with the exception of Konrad, posited their ability to speak several languages as an advantage, and positioned this in relation to what they saw as the limitations of monolingualism.

Living in several languages overtly decentred subjectivity. Individuals recognised that their thinking and their sense of self were contingent on whichever language they were speaking. An acknowledgement of contingency challenged an interpretative repertoire of individualism, through which individuals position themselves as autonomous and

independent and not influenced by societal meanings. Rorty (1989) has argued that a sense of contingency creates the potential for making new meanings.

How did these individuals make use of the sense of contingency offered by their different languages? Bhabha (1994) had propounded a strategy of hybridisation to create new meanings through the bringing together of different and contradictory perspectives, through a process of re-evaluation. However, hybridity has often been characterised by ideas that ‘anything is possible’, rather than with an engagement in subverting inequitable relationships structured through dominance (Radhakrishnan 2000). Bhabha (1994) and Benjamin (1998) have both emphasised how fraught the recognition and negotiation of difference can be in any encounter. As Stam (1998) noted, hybridity was always entangled with colonial violence, and was centrally concerned with asymmetrical power relations. Radhakrishnan (2000) outlined the challenge of “opening up hybridity as an allegorical and second-order space”, of facilitating processes of hybridisation without fixing these. What strategies of hybridisation, did these individuals employ with their different language perspectives? Although hybridity can be seen to be ubiquitous because notions of ‘purity’ have long been discredited, challenging unitary ways of seeing and finding ways to live with contradictions continue to be difficult.

Many of these individuals addressed the way they used the differences between their languages. Venjamin used both Hebrew and Arabic perspectives to escape the linear explanations on both sides of the Middle East conflict in order to examine their interrelationship and to forge new understandings. This strategy of hybridisation involved an understanding of each language perspective and an ability to take a relationally reflexive position. Said (1998) used the differences between his Arabic and English perspectives in a way which he described as ‘contrapuntal’, in which each was positioned and changed position in relation to the other in turn. Others had noticed ways in which the interaction of their language differences had been useful to them or ways in which they

used these explicitly in their everyday lives. These included switching between their different perspectives to generate new ideas for themselves as well as in their interactions with others. Because of their own multiple positioning, individuals also defined themselves as particularly wary of singular positions and ideological dogma, and claimed that they were able to maintain alternative perspectives to dominant discourses.

It was however challenging to sustain contradictory positions and perspectives. Said addressed this difficulty while at the same time arguing for its use for academic creativity.

Our model for academic freedom should therefore be the migrant or traveller: for if, in the real world outside the academy, we must needs be ourselves and only ourselves, inside the academy we should be able to discover and travel among other selves, other identities, other varieties of the human adventure. (Said 1991 / 2000 p403)

Said seems to be saying here that multiplicity is possible in the academy but not in everyday living. But what does it mean to 'be ourselves'? Perhaps this is what Hall (1987) called living the 'necessity' of identity – having to position ourselves because we need to act. Individuals live multiplicity as serial singularity, as well as experience multiplicity as contradictory and discontinuous.

Holding the relationship between disjuncture and continuity is complex. Phillips (2000) pointed out that Marx proposed that it is in simulating continuity that rupture, radical change, is made possible. Here, the proposal is that from the conditions of rupture something radical can be created. Braidotti (1994) argued that it is a 'lightness of touch' which is required to make connections between things which are disconnected, accompanied by an accountability for one's own positionality.

Living in several languages produces contradictory perspectives and positionings.

It was through their development of reflexive practices that individuals made use of these contradictions and the irreconcilable tensions in their perspectives, and celebrated their multiplicity. Except for one individual, everyone considered the multiplicities engendered by their languages, as highly advantageous, and of which they made creative use. Their positioning in more than one culture / language also enabled individuals to present themselves ambiguously, and to claim or subvert different constructions of identity in different contexts to considerable benefit. What is also evident from this research study is that a positioning in several languages facilitates the development of reflexive practices of the self – that this is a recursive relationship - that self reflexivity is a technology of the ‘multilingual self’. However, the contexts in which individuals are situated enable or hinder the development of such reflexivity. In contexts where individuals were positioned in relationships where differences were polarised, they were less able to use their own differences dialogically. However when individuals develop reflexive practices this in turn enables the development of relational reflexivity.

Claiming identities through language use

Individuals also developed hybridisation by switching between languages to use their language differences for particular achievements in their relationships. Switching was used for rhetorical purposes and to claim particular identities in interaction with others.

Individuals switched language to express untranslatable concepts. Those whose languages encoded different ways of constructing emotions moved between them to perform or express particular emotions. These switchings made tangible for individuals that their

emotions were contingent on language, that 'doing' emotions was a discursive practice, thereby developing self-reflexivity.

Individuals code-switched between their languages for meta-languaging purposes, but only in circumscribed situations within their mainly monolingual contexts. Speakers switched language to position themselves as an insider in order to increase the saliency of their argument, to claim status and to challenge ways others positioned them. As individuals reported on their own code-switching, only some explicit usage could be noted.

Individuals used their languages to make salient their own and others identities. Because language speaking was a marker of cultural identity, language choice was used to claim identity, for themselves and for others. The way individuals use their identities as a resource in their interactions is complemented by the way they make use of their languages as an identity resource. Individuals take up or resist membership categories within the family, create or dissolve alliances, claim membership of the family culture or refuse it, claim one cultural identity over another, through their language speaking. Individuals' claims made through their language carry meanings of loyalty and disloyalty, and of continuity and loss within families. A switch to a first language could invoke cultural expectations of family relationships and bring forth particular identifications. Claims and counter claims of identity and of relationship within families are interwoven with claims of membership of 'imagined' communities present and absent.

Parents made identity claims for their children, as well as for themselves, through their language choice. Within families, language choice was used to claim shared identities between parents and children, and often marked alliances within the family. Many children of the research participants were reported as staking their claim to an English identity, by refusing to speak other languages. A couple of parents reported that they switched to

English, the language in which their children were disciplined at school, to perform authority and to warrant their own position. Parents sometimes found it difficult to provide a validating context for their children's multiplicities in the face of dominant discourses in Britain, as children became captured by a desire for singularity and belonging. Some families developed cross-language talking, with parents and children claiming different linguistic identities through their choice of language.

Claims of identity are made in response to racism and othering in the wider context, with individuals refusing identity claims made on their behalf, or concealing aspects of their identity, and presenting themselves in ambiguous ways. Adults also claimed cultural identities for strategic purposes, emphasising a particular identity, to disrupt unhelpful interactions with others, and such claims of identity did not necessarily or always correspond to an individual's self-definition.

The research participants and the writers of autobiographies moved between claiming singularity, doubleness and multiplicity, for playfulness as well as for protectiveness, and made their different identities salient in particular interactions. At times individuals were compelled by the language to leave out significant aspects of themselves, at other times they enjoyed playing with their multiplicities, and the sense that others found them difficult to define, to place.

Given desire and purpose, I could make my home in any one [language] of them. I don't have a house, only this succession of rented rooms. That sometimes makes me feel as though I have no language at all, but it also gives me the advantage of mobility. I can leave, anytime, and not be found. (Sante p260)

The pleasure of presenting themselves ambiguously and the sense of manoeuvrability this engendered were countered at times by the troubling sense that their 'doubleness' and multiplicity was a profound ambivalence, which somehow should be resolved. The stance of holding multiple positions can involve the dangers of relativising and distancing oneself. Defining oneself as more significantly connected to another, absent context can be a way of sliding away from taking responsibility and committing oneself, or defining oneself in relation to an ideal of a defined committed singular self. At the same time flexibility and adaptability were constructed as helpful.

Claims were made by these research participants and autobiographical writers, as by other bilingual and multilingual writers (cf Anzualda 1987, DiNicola 1997, Dyson 1994, Maalouf 2000, Mukherjee 1999, Steiner 1998a, 1998b, Wierzbicka 1997) that no matter how challenging experiences of discontinuity and contradiction have been, the multiplicities acquired by living in several languages engenders creative, even radical change. Hybridity, the generation of perspectives not available to others, and the ability to present oneself ambiguously are seen as special resources, and individuals on the whole construct themselves as committed to challenge and subvert unhelpful dominant singularities. These claims of multiplicity as generating creativity may shift between coming to fruition, and functioning as desire - "[t]he hope of a Global soul . . . that diversity can leave him (sic) not a dissonance, but a higher symphony"(Iyer 2000 p121). These claims may provide narrative resolution to difficult contradictions and support the ability to sustain, and live multiplicity and complexity.

Constructions of languages – constructions of speakers

Individuals constructed their languages differently and these were interrelated to their identifications as speakers. There were significantly different constructions of 'first

languages' and of subsequent languages in these accounts, although several individuals who had grown up with several languages did not define any language as their first.

First languages

First languages became significant in the context of another language, and their meanings were mediated through the circumstances of learning the new language. Languages are constructed in relation to each other. But how were first languages signified, what were they seen as accomplishing?

First languages were signified through their prosodic elements, their sounds and rhythms, ebbs and flows of interchanges, their music, evocative of associations interwoven with the physical and emotional environment of childhood. This relationship to the sounds of a language is drawn attention to in its absence, in the context of living in another language.

First languages were considered as embedding familiar narratives of self and relationships, as a touchstone for individual's sense of self. Those with more troubled narratives in their first language often found a new freedom in their second language. The ease in a first language, noted in the context of struggle in a second, gave individuals confidence, and could provide a sense of 'being at home' in it, in the absence of being at home in their current place. A first language could engender a sense of belonging when individuals returned to their country of origin, acting as a marker for others, although this could be disrupted through loss of fluency.

First languages became attributed with special qualities, constructed as expressive, nuanced, creative and productive, described as a language with flavour, for poetry, for intimacy, for play, for 'authenticity', for 'truth', and for jokes. The meanings given to first

languages were also constitutive of the speaker – the language in which individuals were expressive, humorous, subtle, ‘themselves’, etc.

Meanings were attributed to first languages through relationships as well as through ‘convention’. Such conventions of language and of speakers came into play in the context of another language, and often belied the complexities and contestations of meanings within any language.

The meanings of a first language to individuals were elaborated in the context of parenting and childrearing, where discourses concerning women and men’s different relationship to language as well as to parenting came into play. It was striking how many of the research participants had done some parenting in their first language in a context which worked against this. First languages were perceived as having conveyed intimacy to the parent-child relationship, which indicated how important it may be to support its choice.

This study has highlighted how important it is to challenge and deconstruct the continued use of the term ‘mother tongue’, and the signification of women as the guardians and carriers of language with which it was associated. Women positioned themselves or were positioned implicitly in relation to the idea that it was ‘natural’ to mother in one’s first language, the language one was mothered in, constructed as the language for play, intimacy, and expressiveness, the language in which emotional relationships could best be created. However it worked against fathers using their first languages to parent from the beginning. If women are constructed as the carriers of language, men need to take a very proactive stance in the context of dual language parenting. If they were dominant language speakers, they would have societal backup, but as speakers of minoritised languages they did not. Unquestioned use of this interpretative repertoire is likely to contribute to language loss within families.

It was evident from research participants' accounts that language choice was interlinked with identity claims and was central to the politics of family relationships in everyday life. However, if this research group is anything to go by, this is only rarely discussed explicitly.

Subsequent languages

Subsequent languages were mainly positioned in relation to the construction of first languages, and were often viewed as more formal, constraining, and difficult to make jokes in. One of most prevalent constructions of second languages was that it introduced distance. This took a variety of forms: individuals constructed second languages as distancing them from 'experience'; from taken-for-granted ways of being; from others; from themselves; and from language itself. For some individuals the language distanced them from constraints they had experienced in their first language, so that they could take risks and break rules.

The metaphors used for a second language were of utilitarian articles, a thing to be used - hats, gloves, opening doors - in contrast with the notion of being inside one's first language with its richness and expressiveness. And images of "ill fitting shoes" a size too small, a "piano with keys missing" and a "net with holes in it" constructed the insufficiencies of second languages.

Second/subsequent languages had often acquired ambiguous meanings, depending on context. The colonisers' language was constructed as the language of opportunity and educational success, even as it distanced the research participant from 'themselves', and othered them. In the context of migration, the new language was the language through

which one needed to claim a voice in the face of discrimination, while the first language kept connection to the absent context and the past. The new language was not however one's own, not necessarily 'trustworthy', and might change one's relationship with the past.

Second languages were sometimes privileged in families to ensure children's success at school, to enable them to fit in and claim belonging. It became the language of the present and future while the richer and more emotionally expressive first language which carried historical continuity, came to signify the past and absences. Doing parenting in a second language was seen as changing parents' values and attitudes, positioning individuals alongside their children in the dominant culture. Some individuals constructed their second language as enabling them to be self reflexive as parents, to enable them to parent in preferred ways, and avoid repeating unhelpful patterns from the past. Parenting in a second language was constitutive, constructing them as different parents than they had been or thought they would have been in their first language.

While such meanings of languages were mainly constructed and contested locally they also shifted and evolved in relation to socio-political change, and impacted on individual's use and on their relationships.

Relationship to language and place

An awareness of what language cannot do and of a plurality of meanings eschews the illusion of shared assumptions and predictability with which we communicate most of the time. This is an experience of the 'centrifugal of language' without a centre that holds (Bakhtin 1981). In moving into a new language individuals moved from being unselfconsciously at ease in language to being unsure of language.

How astonishing it is that language can almost mean, and frightening that it does not quite.

Jack Gilbert

A pertinent question is what else may get emptied into language? Or indeed what is specific to language? In exploring the question of language, I have brought a particular lens through which to examine the autobiographies and through which individuals could construct their experiences in the research interviews. Other issues may have become constructed as language issues. Language speaking and racialisation processes are entangled with each other and difficult to separate out. Other research has for example, found that Black British women construct themselves multiply, using multiple subject positionings dependent on their relationship context (Mama 1995). Would individuals construct themselves in similar ways, if they had moved from one country to another, one culture to another, without a change of language? Such individuals also have to manage the dislocations of place and loss of relationship networks, and disruptions of meanings.

What is the significance of geographical place in the construction of identity and of memory and what is the effect of a change of physical context? 'Place' is itself constructed, and space is gendered, racialised, and classed (Uguri 2000); place is signified through ideas about rootedness, 'home' and 'nationalism'. The longing for a place is particularly powerful in the context of exile because it is forbidden. The ideal of a coherent self, connected to the idea of having a place, is still a predominant interpretative repertoire. The concept of diaspora denaturalises 'home' as 'location', challenging notions of geographical origins while at the same time making claims to representation and belonging (Brah 1996, Radhakrishnan 2000). Those who had moved countries in this study conceptualised 'home' in a variety of ways. Many spoke of feeling they did not belong

anywhere, or that they could belong everywhere. Holding identifications in several linguistic contexts, they both lived with traditional notions of cultural identity and challenged these, sometimes captured by stereotypes of themselves and others, sometimes developing a hybridity which unsettled such ideas.

Diasporic identities are multiply constructed, constituted relationally, through identifications and differentiations. Shifting contexts trigger shifts in subjectivity, as different facets of individuals' 'race', gender, class, culture and ethnicity and their intersections are emphasised and privileged (Brah 1996). Perhaps one cannot say what is different about shifts in linguistic contexts, from other shifts of context, but only that the ways in which these individuals constructed their experiences of their own differences may overlap with other experiences of multiplicity, and is of significance.

It has become commonplace to speak of postmodernity as a period in which individuals conceptualise themselves and are conceptualised as multiple and are engaged in continual shifts of context and change, however, this study of individuals who live with multiplicities of language, demonstrated the challenges which individuals experience living with multiplicity. Individuals had to find ways to manage the discontinuities between their languages and the contradictions these encompassed. The research project identified the discursive work which individuals carry out in relation to the differences of their languages and found that constructs of multiple subjectivity were not necessarily easily drawn on. Context is crucial to whether individuals found ways to validate their differences of language and to develop a self-reflexive positioning in order to make use of them.

Many of these research findings have been a surprise, exactly what you hope for from a research study. To find that all these individuals experienced themselves differently in their different languages was exciting. The fruitfulness of a discursive approach has been unexpected. The ways in which individuals constructed themselves in relation to their multiplicities of language, managing the tensions between the call for coherence and sustaining their diversities, brought a new perspective on living with multiplicity. Ideas of 'performance' and the dilemmas this posed for individuals raised interesting questions about change, as did individuals' sense of contingency. Although I had set out to critically examine the term 'mother tongue' I was perturbed to find its effect on fathers' language use. I was intrigued by the potential helpful functions of second languages.

Although I was prepared for and paying attention to the effect my personal and professional contexts would have on the research project, I had not anticipated that the research process would have an impact on my constructions of my experiences.

When examining the challenges for families of children learning the dominant language faster than their parents, I became aware for the first time of the protective effect of my parents' prior fluency in English and French on my migration experience.

During the analysis, I became intrigued by the 'protective function' of a second or subsequent language, and the distance it could provide from difficult and traumatic events, and I suddenly made a connection back to my parents. My parents had always warranted their decision to move to Canada as providing opportunities for us children, and for my father, his longing for open spaces. I now began to think about their transition to living in a new language / culture in a new way. During WWII, both my parents had been Japanese

prisoners of war; my father was sent to work on the construction of 'Death Railway' connecting Burma and Thailand, my mother imprisoned in a camp with other Dutch women in Indonesia. Back in Holland after the war, they never really settled, and decided to emigrate to Canada. I now started to consider their move to a new language / culture as a survival strategy, a way to give them a distance from their past experiences, to enable them to live productively. They did however parent us in Dutch, perhaps because these relationships began in Dutch because we were born in Holland and also Dutch may have escaped the meanings of abusiveness which the German language had taken on for survivors of the Holocaust because their captors had spoken Japanese.

I have come to realise, like others in this research study, how much I enjoy ambiguity, not being easily defined, that I can emphasise one language identity, leave out another. I notice that I can use this to avoid responsibility and that this is not helpful and often indeed not possible, and that I am positioned (white, middle class, etc.) Finding my personal narratives changing as a result of the research process has been an unexpected effect.

Carrying out this research has sensitised me to the ease with which language is lost, as I became acutely aware of the insidious effects of the dominance of English. and the advantages of sustaining languages at the individual, family and socio-political level. I have had to face my choice to parent in English and that my son does not speak my first language, and have come to regret my decision to parent in English, my contribution to language loss in my own family. I had a sense when I began this research, that the negativity attached to bi- and multi-lingualism so prevalent in the linguistics literature and in common discourses was misplaced. I have found the constructions of multilingualism as creative and radical in some of the literature and in these accounts, persuasive, although it is obviously not straightforward for individuals to develop ways to make use of their

differences of language. I find these constructions particularly persuasive as a multilingual individual myself. It has fuelled my passion at a professional level, as a systemic psychotherapist, to find ways to enable individuals and families to sustain their languages, or at least, to reflect more explicitly on the issues of language speaking.

Questions for individuals, families and systemic psychotherapy

The analysis of this research raises important questions and implications for individuals and families and for systemic psychotherapy, indeed for the entire psychotherapy field.

These research participants were very appreciative of having the opportunity to think about issues connected to speaking several languages, which on the whole had been neglected in their lives, and yet were so significant. At a basic level then, it seems useful for those who live in several languages to have and make opportunities to reflect on their significance.

The individuals in this study became multilingual in very different circumstances but there was a commonality in experiences of discontinuity and contradictions between languages, inherent tensions in living in several languages. In their writing and in research interviews, individuals were self-reflexive concerning their positioning in their languages and the sense of multiplicity this imbued, as well as the challenges this raised for their identities.

Despite the availability of postmodern interpretative repertoires of multiple subjectivities, persons live with notions of their own and others' enduring and singular identities. In these accounts the tensions between a sense of multiplicity and a need for coherence were evident. Individuals in this study moved between constructing coherence and sustaining

their diversities, and sought to find ways to work this tension, influenced by their relationship contexts.

Those who spoke minoritised languages as children in dominant monolingual contexts viewed this as highly significant in their growing up. The challenges of moving between the differences of their language of home and of their communities and of finding a satisfactory definition for themselves were remembered as onerous and faced on their own. The reported childhood struggles of individuals, whose first languages had been stigmatised, raise questions for families trying to enable their children to speak a minoritised language. Adults generally had found ways of living their multiplicities more easily.

Amati-Mehler and her colleagues (1993) argued that for some individuals having more than one language is unhelpful, associated with splitting and repression. And Said (2001) and Rose (2001) drew attention to dangers for individuals striving to erase fissures and discontinuities. None of these autobiographers or the research participants however, had taken a rigidly dogmatic position in relation to their discontinuities and contradictions. I have argued that drawing on a construct of doubleness has been particularly helpful to individuals to sustain contradictions as well as coherence. For the adults reflecting on childhoods lived in several languages, having had their multiplicities validated and rendered feasible in some way, was significant to their sense of self and ability to utilise the differences between their languages. Encountering a context in which such validation takes place may be crucial.

There had been comparatively little explicit attention to issues of language within families, either when these adults were growing up or in current family relationships. How can families make use of their language differences rather than ignore them or utilise them to

create polarisations? Excluding a family member's language may exclude perspectives and constructions embedded for the individual in that language. Speaking several languages within the family entails the bringing forth of different and at times, contradictory values and attitudes. For families who want to include all its languages, there are questions of who will learn whose language and who needs to adapt to whom. If some family members speak a language not understood by others, individuals need to find a way to position themselves in relation to the inclusions and exclusions this creates. For those in this study, inclusion alongside monolingual norms sometimes resulted in language loss.

Families seek therapeutic help when they or others have concerns about one of its members or concerns about relationships, and the ways in which they have conceptualised and tried to manage the difficulties have not led to desired change. Systemic psychotherapists aim to explore issues collaboratively with family members in order to generate new and alternative perspectives and actions. Families with several languages may not present language as an issue for therapy, nor would therapists necessarily explore issues of language with families. However, what seems clear from this study is that if therapists neglect to explore language with families significant aspects of self and relationships will be ignored in the therapy. Such aspects are perhaps most in danger of neglect when family members are fluent in English.

The ease with which individuals were able to reflect on their relationships with and in language and the significance of these for their lives indicate that this is fruitful territory for the therapeutic project. In several research interviews, the invitation to reflect on languages and the individual and relational differences they encoded, provided a recontextualisation which generated new ideas, moving from a story of blame towards curiosity. Taking up a self reflexive stance to their languages and their effects may open up

a range of resources for families and for therapy, as well as making explicit the different perspectives and contradictions with which the family is living.

Systemic psychotherapists work to construct a context with a family in which multiple possibilities can be entertained (Burck et al 1998). Byrne & McCarthy (1998) use the metaphor of the 'Fifth Province' in Ireland in their therapy with families, for the "possibility of holding together multiple stories, and social realities in dialogue . . . a province of possibilities, of imagination, and of ethics" (p389), as a way to subvert and escape polarisations and the silencing and co-option to which therapists often contribute. Engaging individuals in thinking about the contradictions between their different language perspectives, and how and whether it is possible to interconnect these, may prove important aspects of therapy with a multilingual family. This is talk that needs to encompass disruptions, discontinuities and fragments, without having to go for coherence or closure.

As Thomas (1995, 2001) had argued, an examination of the meanings of language is particularly crucial in the context of colonialism and racisms. Instead of taking the language in which therapy is conducted for granted, seen as a neutral medium, this study has highlighted the differential effects of languages on subjectivity. The effects of a colonizing language on the ways individuals can position or reposition themselves benefit from explicit attention, as do the ways language speaking become sites of contestation for individuals because of their racialised identity positions. Unpacking these meanings in therapy enable therapists and families to consider their effects even when they need to use the dominant language to speak with each other. Incorporating notions of dominant and subjugated discourses (White & Epsom 1990) may enable therapists to highlight such effects further.

Issues of language are entangled with other transformational processes involved in migration. Family members who move to live in a new language and culture have to renegotiate their sense of themselves and their relationships and face dilemmas of continuity and change. Migration processes are characterised by ambiguous loss, tensions between presence and absence (Falicov 2002). Language speaking may come to signify loyalties to the past or present, and claims of identity. Others have argued that if therapists can enable a family to use all their languages within the therapeutic session, this may set up a context in which for example, decision making about staying or returning can be more helpfully explored (DiNicola 1998, Falicov 1998, Sluzki 1983). This study would indicate that finding a way to include all languages in the sessions even if the therapist does not speak these, would bring forth multiple perspectives and individuals' different senses of themselves. For some, the disconnection from meanings generated in the first language may be experienced as highly disruptive and discontinuous, for others it may offer a freedom from perceived constraints and relished.

Being able to speak in one's first language in therapy may be significant for individuals because of the meanings it has acquired in the context of a new language, as well as the problems with translation. Individuals' idiosyncratic use of their languages which construct issues of significance can easily get lost in translation, and concerns are likely to be constructed in dissimilar ways in different languages.

For many in this study, language speaking was interwoven with claims and counterclaims of identity and of relationships within their families and in relation to membership of 'imagined' communities present and absent, sometimes in response to racism and exclusions in the wider context. Tensions about how to interrelate the different cultures and identifications can be played out within the family, as much as between the family and the communities in which they reside. Different languaged perspectives can lead to intense

embattlements. Families often present for help when claims and counterclaims have become problematic and polarised. Helping unsettle such polarisations so that everyone can struggle with the inevitable contradictions between different languages, rather than having these stay lodged, as they commonly are, in differences between parents and children, opens the possibility of using these differences. Falicov (2002) has proposed the use of rituals for families for these purposes, and this research indicates how important language will be in these processes.

When parents have different first languages, there are questions of which languages to use to conduct family relationships. A belief that alliances will mainly be benign would seem important to support the speaking of a language not everyone understood. This study has highlighted the importance of unpacking the notion of 'mother tongue'. The speaking of a first / childhood language conferred a sense of intimacy and closeness in parent-child relationships for whatever reasons, which may be lost for fathers, or for parents who are organised by ideas that speaking a minoritised language could be detrimental to their child fitting into the wider community. Examining language choices and their effects explicitly may enable family members to make more use of their languages, more flexibly.

The challenges involved when children become more fluent in the dominant language than their parents were identified in several accounts. These circumstances could develop children's confidence, resentment and contempt, or contrivance. Unpacking the effect on family relationships of issues of language fluency could unsettle ideas of personal failing or family dysfunction. Identifying misuses of power imbalances, when children employ the dominant language and culture to undermine parents' knowledge and practices, can be important. Adults' feelings of inadequacy in the dominant language, differentially experienced in relation to their resources and status, may dovetail with children's responses. Helping parents challenge narratives of incompetence constructed through

inarticulacy can be key, to recalibrate the power imbalances and to offer support to their children and the challenges they face, to mediate the way these processes become constructed and to contribute to a parental sense of competence, and children's developing skills. Such work would reflect Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozo's (2001) finding that a parental sense of authority and respect is crucial to supporting their children's bicultural competencies, connection to their language / culture of origin and positioning in the dominant one.

Parents are often concerned about their children's fluency in the dominant language when they speak minoritised languages, and may resolve this by switching to English. Exploring the value of several languages and the multiplicity this engenders for individuals and family life could open up questions helpfully about this solution.

For families to construct a milieu which enables living with multiplicity is challenging particularly when residing in a context in which the derogation of values, language, sense of self, and perspectives are frequently experienced. Therapists may work with family members to enable the development of multiple perspectives, without mutual deprecation. To challenge ongoing negative constructions of 'bilingualism' and to generate a sense of the creative potential of living with several languages, the opening up of differences between languages may be fruitful, to explore dilemmas and possibilities. An explicit consideration of issues of identity, such as the notion of doubleness and multiplicity drawn on by individuals in this study, could helpfully deconstruct and challenge demands for singularity. The ways in which individuals make use of their different languages for diverse accomplishments and an exploration of the potential use of these differences may foster self reflexive positionings.

Family therapists have long been aware of the ways in which humour can enable changes of perspective through reframing or shifting levels, and have worked to find ways to use it therapeutically. A striking aspect of many of these research accounts was of individuals' difficulties of being humorous, of playing in their newest language, and the effect this had on their sense of themselves. Finding ways to help family members develop their abilities to play in and between their languages may also subvert the differences between entrenched positions and create more productive ones.

Families and therapists can make use of all the families' languages even if the therapist is monolingual. Codeswitching during therapeutic sessions may help map aspects of family processes (Di Nicola 1998), and may help identify individuals' claims of identity, for themselves and for others. A therapist can encourage families to include code-switching in therapy sessions to access aspects of family life difficult to accomplish in one language only. The experience of speaking in one's first language and then translating oneself into another language, can also provide a way to elicit different perspectives and affective descriptions and make use of the differences between them to generate complexity and flexibility. And it is such flexibility that enables multiplicity to be lived as resilience.

Because families often come to therapy feeling they are trapped by their own patterned interactions or stories of self, being able to experiment with code-switching may be a useful way to disrupt such constraints. Relationships characterised by ongoing and unresolved arguments can experiment with switching languages for arguing, to change the tone and the way the argument develops. Families can also become aware of the ways in which individual members use code-switching in their everyday interactions, using their languages as resources to accomplish particular functions: when one partner switches to the other's less preferred, less fluent language to constrain their participation, or the point

in arguments between parents and children when children switch into English and with what effect, and so on.

Living in a second language offered opportunities to some of the individuals in this study to construct themselves differently, gave them a different way of being. The use of a second language has considerable potential for therapy. Second languages were mainly constructed as creating a distance of various kinds for individuals in these accounts. Such an experience of distance is potentially very helpful for individuals who have undergone traumatic and difficult experiences in their first language, and who have not, for whatever reasons, found a way to bring this into language and to position themselves differently in relation to this. A new language can offer a different context and facilitate exploration not considered possible in the first language, enable 'talk about talking' (Fredman 1997) and offer alternative perspectives and different narratives. Amati-Mehler and her colleagues (1993) proposed that sometimes a second language can provide a life saving anchor for individuals. Although Pérez Foster (1998), among others, warned that a second language can introduce an unhelpful distance from significant affective themes in therapy, this can sometimes be used to advantage.

Some parents in this study reported that parenting in a second language had helped them do so differently from their parents, avoiding unhelpful replications. When parents come to therapy with concerns about their parenting and a wish to do things differently, it is possible that enabling them to experiment with switching to their second language in some of their parenting interactions could help them develop more enabling ways to do so.

For some individuals, communicating in a new language had honed their communication, forcing them to concentrate on essentials, which had been beneficial to their relationships. This aspect of communicating in a second language could be used to benefit in therapeutic

encounters through eliciting central and significant themes quickly. One cannot dissemble so easily in a new language.

What this research has indicated, and confirms other therapists' ideas (Amati-Mehler 1993, DiNicola 1997, Falicov 1995, 1998, Greenson 1950, Pérez Foster 1992, 1996a, 1996b, 1998, Sluzki 1983, Tesone 1996) is that using different languages in therapy has different effects. It is incumbent on therapists to ensure that they take account of these effects, either by finding ways to include a family's languages, or by exploring the effects of different languages on individuals' sense of themselves and their relationships, and to draw on this range of discursive resources in the therapeutic project.

Multilingual therapists

When multilingual therapists work with families who are multilingual in the same languages, the therapy sessions can utilise all of the languages, to tap into the different experiences, values and meanings each language carries, and individuals can switch between their languages to construct meaning. The few psychoanalytic psychotherapists who have written in this area (Amati-Mehler 1993, Greenson 1950, Pérez Foster 1992, 1996, 1998, Tesone 1996) have been concerned with questions about whether the therapist should lead or follow individuals' language switches. In family therapy, there are different questions, as all the individuals present can switch between languages for a number of different purposes, to align themselves with or position themselves differently from others, and therapists can both follow or switch languages to explore these meanings. This way of working has been little explored and would be both interesting and useful to develop further.

When therapists are trained in their second languages there may be significant dimensions of themselves that are excluded or even disqualified through the training. This may mean they are less able to use aspects of themselves in therapy. Multilingual therapists themselves need to find contexts to validate the differences of their languages. This thesis has indicated that multilingual therapists experience themselves differently in their different languages, and that it would be important to develop their self-reflexivity in therapeutic sessions in order to make use of the differences their languages bring.

Working in their second / subsequent languages could provide therapists with a 'distance' which may be useful therapeutically. It can provide protection by creating a distance from strong affect. A Belgian therapist reported that she was able to work effectively with a man who had sworn at her repeatedly in English because it didn't affect her in the way it did her English speaking colleagues, because it didn't carry the same emotional meaning (Burck 1997). When individuals have undergone traumatic experiences, they often seek to find what Primo Levi referred to as, an 'addressable other', in relation to his experiences of the Holocaust, but others often cannot bear to listen to these accounts (Anissimov 1998).

Therapists also experience themselves at times, as not wanting to listen to accounts of brutalising and traumatic events and the individuals who consult them are often very sensitive to this response. If a therapist is working in their second language, they may experience a sense of protection from the emotional impact of a narrative, and this may paradoxically, enable them to stay connected, and in the position of the 'addressable other'.

Therapists can also use the differences their languages bring to generate multiple perspectives for themselves, in the ways some research participants did in switching between languages for themselves. Being able to reflect on the therapy in a different language could generate alternative ideas and new perspectives, which may be helpful in dissolving impasses in the work.

Having several languages is a resource, as well as a site of contestation, for families and for therapists. However, if therapists do not ask families about their languages, families themselves may not present this and significant aspects of self and relationships will be ignored. Individuals accomplish different things in their different languages, and so can therapy. Many of the questions I asked research participants in this study are pertinent to therapeutic sessions, to explore the differential effect of language on subjectivity and on relationships, and to take into account the effects of colonisation and racialisation.

Inquiring about the possibilities for and the development of strategies of hybridisation could be a valuable resource for therapeutic change. Krause (2002) has argued cogently about the need for therapists to take risks in exploring the 'doxic' - aspects of lives, their own and the families with whom they engage, which are not explicit, the social and cultural patterning of meanings and contexts, and to learn to ask questions which make sense to the family. What I am arguing here is that explorations concerning a family's languages are a particularly fruitful way to do so.

Concluding implications

This study has explored speakers' experiences of living in several languages. It has identified significant themes and raised questions that are pertinent to explore further with individuals themselves.

Never surrender a good question for a mere answer. (Hishfield 2001)

The question of how individuals take up language to construct themselves, the nature and processes of the suture between subjectivity and language/ culture (Hall 1996) is available to be examined when individuals enter into a new language. I believe this study has

demonstrated that research with individuals who speak several languages is particularly relevant and could be fruitful to explore this question further.

This thesis has analysed adult constructions of their childhoods. The effect of context on children's sense of their multiplicity is of particular importance. Analysing children's constructions of their experiences with several languages in different contexts would add other perspectives of relevance. A different kind of question is how speaking several languages as a young child, affects the development of a 'theory of mind'. Research has indicated that a crucial development in young children is learning that other people have different perspectives (Hobson 1998, 2002). As speaking several languages entails holding different perspectives oneself, does this facilitate this development in young children, and how does this affect their relationships with others?

The experimentation in the pilot phase of the research with different methods of analysis generated possibilities for future research. Grounded theory approaches, discursive analyses and narrative analyses provided different ways to examine these texts and developing their use in pursuing these issues further would be productive. The research has indicated that carrying out interviews with individuals in each of their languages or through switching between their languages, would elicit a diversity of narratives and discursive work for analysis. Different narrative structures, constructions of emotions, code-switching, shifts in identifications, and rhetorical usage would be available for analysis.

It would be fruitful to interview family members conjointly, to enable individuals to reflect on each other's constructions, and to elicit multiple perspectives of the impact of different languages on relationships and constructions of self. The pilot couple interview I carried out elicited individuals' different perspectives which were useful to unpack together, and

they commented on each other's language practices and its effects. If interviews were conducted in several languages, it would be possible to research speakers' experiences of and in their languages, alongside an analysis of their language-in-use in their interactions with each other. These different perspectives could provide further ideas about how individuals use their language resources to construct their identities and relationships with each other, and the meanings they make together.

The development of strategies of hybridisation warrants further exploration with individuals, and with families. How do individuals conceptualise the most problematic contradictions for themselves of being positioned in two or more languages? What are their discursive solutions to living with such contradictions, and how do contextual factors impact on these? What processes are involved in developing strategies of hybridisation? Such explorations could generate ideas about how best to support individuals and families living with multiplicity.

This thesis has raised important issues for family therapy. It is evident that much can be learned from including exploration of living in several languages in family therapy sessions, and indeed, that much is missed if it is not. There are certain experiences that can best, and possibly, only, be elicited in a first language. Family therapists can choose to contribute to the unavailability of such experiences of self, and even the loss of language, by ignoring family languages, and excluding significant perspectives and constructions of the world. Or they can work to include explorations of language speaking and collaborate with families to find ways in which the multiplicity engendered through speaking several languages can best be lived. There are important questions about how families can best be enabled to support their multilingualism and their multiple identities in a context such as Britain.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW FORMAT

How many languages do you speak? with what kind of fluency? spoken/ written?
Which language do you consider your first language?

Could you tell me the circumstances of learning your languages?
(age, relationships, contexts, by choice, 'forced', moving countries/cultures)

Where did you use which language?
Which language were you educated in?
Which languages used at home? with parents? with siblings? with grandparents?
Within community? other contexts? private/public domain differences?
What about religious affiliation? Is this connected to your language use?
What was this like for you? Any issues around language use? What were the constraints and/or opportunities in this experience?

How were your languages valued? Did your context value languages? Issues of colonization? What effect on you?

How would you define your ethnicity and describe yourself culturally?
Has this changed over time?
Experiences of racism, marginalisation, exclusion? Effect on your language use? Would you use your language/s to manage/challenge this?
How do you think languages are valued here in Britain? (Are you aware of a hierarchy of languages?) What effect?

In which language do you feel most fluent currently?
Has your ease in your different languages changed over time?
Does it change dependent on context?
Do your languages influence each other in any way?
If you have lost fluency in your first language, what do you think the effect has been?

(If you have a partner) what language/s do you speak to him/her?
How was this decided? issues? effects on relationship/s?

(If you have children) what language/s do you speak with them?
How was this decided? issues? effects on relationship/s?

What kinds of issues are there in your family of creation around language use?

Do you ever find yourself repeating/translating phrases of your parents?

What language do you use now with your family of origin?
Which languages use for other important relationships? choice or no choice? cross-language relationships?

Do you have friendships which you conduct in both/all your languages?
Issues? effects on relationship/s? similarities or differences in relating?

Are there particular circumstances/contexts in which you use your languages? (choice or no choice)

Have you worked in all your languages? experiences and issues?

Can you write in all your languages? experiences/issues

Do you ever change languages (code-switch) in any of your relationships or contexts? for what purpose would you do this?

When you get angry, what language do you find yourself using? What language do you curse in?

When you feel upset, in what language do you express this?

When you're happy etc

Which language/s do you use:

- to talk to yourself
- to think aloud
- to write diaries
- to dream
- to pray
- to take notes
- spiritual questions
- passionate debate

Does this vary at all? Does this change when you change contexts? What have you noticed about this?

Would you say there are feelings you have in one language but not in another?

Feelings that are harder to express in one than the other?

Can you tell jokes in both/all your languages? Is your sense of humour the same in your different languages?

Do you ever switch languages when you are thinking or talking to yourself?

If you are stuck or confused, do you ever switch to thinking about this in another language to see what happens?

Do you ever have the experience of suddenly finding yourself thinking or speaking in another language in a situation where you usually speak the other?

Do you ever have the experience of mixing up words from one language to another?

Would you say that there are experiences that you have in one language that you don't have in another?

Do you think you present yourself differently in your different languages? Do you think you behave differently in different languages? If so, what is your explanation for this? connected to aspects of the language? issues of culture? Do you behave differently in different cultural contexts?

How would you describe yourself/be described in each language?

Can you give me an example of a story told about yourself in each language.

If you behave/experience yourself differently in different contexts, do others realise this/ acknowledge this?

Are there any words (or concepts) which are untranslatable from one of your languages to the other? What about metaphors or sayings?

If so, what is it like for you that there are untranslatable words between your languages?
Does this have an effect on your relationships in any way?

If you were to consider having therapy, which language would you have it in?

Do you feel 'at home' in one language more than another? for what reasons?

Do you feel you value your languages differently?

Has this changed over time/ in different contexts/ for what reasons?

Does this link to your view of how and which languages valued in present context?

Do you think being able to use more than one language has been advantageous for you?
Have there been disadvantages?

Would you consider yourself positioned in two/more cultures? If so, has this been advantageous to you? disadvantageous?

Has this changed over time? How connected to how cultures valued in present context?

How would you define your concept of 'home'?

Are there other aspects of being positioned in more than one culture which you think are important?

Are there other aspects of being able to use more than one language which you think are important?

Are there any other questions you think I should have asked?

Has this interview raised any new questions/thoughts for you? if so, what?

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTION NOTATIONS

The transcription notations used were as follows.

(.)	Untimed pause which is noticeable but too short to measure.
(2)	Time pause to nearest second.
<u>word</u>	Underline - emphasis placed on words by speaker.
(overlap)	Overlapping utterance
.....	Speaker trails off. If followed by (overlap) then indicates that speaker has been interrupted. At the beginning of a sentence it indicates continuance of statement after (overlap)
(indistinct)	Inaudible. This will refer to one of two words. It will be indicated if longer section of dialogue.
(?)	Preceding word not 100% clear.
(laughs)	Non-verbal information
CB	Researcher's contributions
[...]	Section of extract left out

APPENDIX C

GROUNDING ANALYSIS CATEGORIES AND CONCEPTS

Interview - Angela

<u>Categories</u>	<u>Concepts</u>
Being different in all her contexts Managing the issue of difference on your own as a child Difficulties of being in 'no man's land'	Minoritised language as marker of difference
Located in two different worlds	Doubled world
Cross-language family:	
Racism and its effects: Having Italian validated: Romanticisation	Wider context gives language meaning
Learning Arabic Relationship to Latin The process of learning French helpful	Other languages give more helpful experience
Different languages for different expressions of feeling: Uses of language switching Relationship to language Advantages of speaking more than one language	Sense of self different in different languages
Choice of parenting in English Wish to protect children from experiences of feeling different	Parenting in second language to avoid replication

Interview – Cato

Extreme disruption and loss of becoming refugee The impossibility of return - effect on language	Loss of country – loss of language
Located outside the language and culture of Britain Parenting in English - positioned outside language and culture again	Positioning outside language
Developing a hard persona in English.	Gendered response to inarticulacy
Greater fluency allows for connectedness Language switches for dreaming and internal speech	Markers of fluency
Speaking first language as specialness/secretcy Switch language to avoid exclusion	Language creates alliance Inclusion & exclusion
Different stories of self in different languages Different senses of humour	Doubled narratives
Greater fluency than mother gives power, resentment and contempt	Unbalance family power relationships
First language triggers ‘emotional flashbacks’ First language imparts intimacy	Meanings of first language - Experiences of first language
Little permission for hybridity	Contextual impact on construction of self

Interview - Di-Yin

Categories

Concept of separate language worlds

Multilingual child - difficult to define first language
Stigmatisation for her rural dialect

English as route to academic success

Total immersion into English
Loyalty issues re Chinese community

Mixing languages as parent
Difference in relationships in English and Chinese
Use of English to avoid Chinese male sexism
Use of English to be aggressive
Use of Chinese to invite help

Erasing Westernisation
Inability to erase Chinese manner
English scientist with a 'Chinese root'

Concepts

Doubled world

Context gives language meaning

Unequal power relationships between languages

Dilemmas of learning a new language

Using different languages for different purposes

Doubleness with Chinese more enduring